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**No. 5**

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## BEIJING PAMPHLET CALLS FOR DEMOLISHING SPIRITUAL 'GREAT WALL'

Beijing QIMENG in Chinese No 2, 24 Nov 78 pp 33-44 HK

[Section five: "On 'Demolishing the Great Wall'"]

[Text] There were two great walls in Chinese history. One of them was built with bricks and slabs of stone to keep away intruders. The other was a spiritual great wall erected by Qin Shihuang [Chin Shin Huang] and his successors to maintain their totalitarian rule by an autocratic, theoretical system. The spiritual wall is the one that we want to demolish. The basic reasons for doing this are given below.

### Speaking From the Political Aspect

Chinese history appears very complicated but in reality it is very simple. It is complicated because of its many dynasties and voluminous records kept by historians. It is simple because the dynasties and the records of historians with their knowledge of government, economic, laws and theories were all determined by a constant central factor--despotism and superstitious ideas it engendered. For thousands of years, this single factor remained unchanged. An unchanging social system, a prolonged period of self-imposed isolation, a lack of foresight and conceit have caused irreparable economic losses and inestimable spiritual misfortunes to socialism. In their fight for human rights, democracy and freedom, the people of England and France beheaded their despotic rulers. For thousands of years prior to the 1911 revolution, no major revolution aimed at completely transforming the superstructure and the economic base ever occurred in China. China was a country in which the power of the monarch was upheld and civil rights were suppressed. Despotism in China surpassed the despotism of any other country in the world while Chinese history abounds in records of overthrowing the emperor to seize the throne.

Chinese history was mainly determined by Qin Shihuang's totalitarianism. When he turned his despotic notions into absolute administrative orders and laws, the laboring people lost the freedom of action and their right to express their views. The emperor's will became the law. Politically, the people not only had to accept domination at every level from the emperor

down, but in a spiritual sense they had to be prepared to accept the restraining power of a large number of deities and ghosts. In this sense, they had to ascribe to "heaven" and the emperor all that was good, beautiful and beneficent and attribute to themselves all that was ominous, bleak and fallacious. They were ignorant of mundane ways and unaware that emperors were mortals like themselves. From the day they were born, they offered all they had to the deities and spirits whose power seemed pervasive, becoming slaves without character and persons without human rights.

China suffered deeply from despotism and superstition. Even now, more than half of our country's population is illiterate. As many people are totally ignorant of the real nature of things, they are unable to distinguish scientifically between issues of right and wrong. They are so mentally retarded as to create conditions for the generation and propagation of despotic notions and recklessly superstitious beliefs.

The great revolution of 1911 toppled the last emperor of the Qing [Ching] court. This brought to an end more than 2,000 years of despotic rule in China and inaugurated a republic that existed only in name. What Sun Yat-sen toppled was an emperor in the concrete form, but not the emperor that still lingered in people's minds. This is because the revolution was not conducted as thoroughly as it should have been. As a result, it provided room for careerists and dictators, big and small, to stage a comeback. What these despotic restorationists championed was simply the interests of a handful of persons, not the interests of the broad masses. Therefore, the people bitterly resented their paternalistic approach and the utterly decadent mentality of the small peasant. The awakening Chinese people are finding the reappearance of Qin Shihuang's despotism impermissible. They do not want to see a return to the darkest and the most barbarous and terrifying "dictatorship" that shackled people's thinking and action.

Despotism and superstition run counter to the progressive cause of the people. Whoever opposes human rights and science is the most ferocious enemy of a democratic government and the cause of science. Having acquired more knowledge and broader visions, our people have a deeper understanding of democracy and despotism. They said explicitly: If we have democracy we are real human beings; if not, we are simply slaves of our time although we are not stigmatized as slaves.

The call for a new democratic government to safeguard the citizens' security and wellbeing, spiritually and physically, is the urgent desire of the laboring people. China is awakening. To develop the national economy and advance science, the country must expose all forms of feudal superstition, ancient and modern. To promote democracy and uphold human rights, it is imperative for us to demolish the despotic spiritual great wall and eradicate its vestiges from our land and from everyone's mind.

#### Speaking From the Production Aspect

It is common knowledge that the United States is the most developed country in the capitalist world. The reason why it has achieved impressive results

in natural sciences and social production in 200 years is that basically it has shunned despotic practices and superstitious beliefs. In Asia, Japan takes the United States as a model. A century ago it was a despotic nation obsessed with superstition, not behind China in shunning other countries. However, since the Meiji restoration, Japan began to embrace science and practice democracy, becoming in our time an economic colossus in the east. Compared with Egypt, India, Greece and China, both the United States and Japan lack a cultural heritage dating back centuries and neither has made any significant contributions to history in the amassing of wisdom. Yet they are examples for countries that are steeped in ancient civilization. By making this simple comparison, we can clearly see that old nations are so ridden with ills that they tend to cling to undesirable practices, while young nations forge ahead because they find nothing that stands in their way. If we view this from scientific and democratic angles, old nations stifle visions while young nations draw aspiring people to them.

China, as a nation, is steeped in wisdom that is undeniably associated with its glorious past and a long history of uplifting and pervasive spiritual influences. In fact, over the past centuries we have done almost nothing about infusing age-old Chinese wisdom with a new vitality released by modern science. Judging by the production tools that we now use, there is little evidence that we have developed anything new from an old heritage of wisdom and inventiveness. The system of industrial production in the cities is inadequate while division of work and specialization in society is not sound. This has greatly hindered the development of productive forces. Under such circumstances, the workers must work very hard and for long hours in order to make a living. The production of material goods is as scarce as the production of things of a spiritual nature, resulting in drab living conditions in both a material or spiritual sense. In the countryside, the primitive way of farming still prevails and the peasants still wear straw sandals. Most rural villages are dimly lit. On rainy days the peasants continue to cover themselves with crude outdoor wear made of palm leaves. They use heavy and old-fashioned hoes, plows and shovels to cultivate the land and reap the crops....

These defects cannot but be attributed to despotic practices and superstitious beliefs which fetter people's minds and discourage scientific hypotheses which reject things meant for the next world. Under despotism, one person's will is considered absolute and high above the aspirations of others. When superstition holds sway, it disclaims man's power to transform nature. Since an overwhelming majority of people are unable to free themselves from the yoke of despotism and superstition, they find it difficult to contribute their strength and wisdom to society. This explains why China, even now, is still behind other countries. To make China strong and powerful, it must shun despotism and superstition, maintain a stable and democratic government and mobilize the activism and wisdom of every member of the Chinese society. This is a good remedy for removing China's inherent ills.

If our country's productive forces are not fully released, China will be like an old man who has trouble breathing and who may collapse one day as a result of disorders in his arteries.

To achieve progress China must develop science to service a new life. This is positive. We hope our contemporaries will not try to block the advent of modern science with Chinese classics and old fashioned ideas. They must not fight modern civilization with outmoded tools and stop China and the rest of the world from making progress.

#### Speaking From the Spiritual Aspect

My foundation is disappearing from the globe, it is crumbling in the mind of all mankind...I shall not leave any trace in this world.--quoted from "The Great Wall's Introduction"

For thousands of years, despotism and superstition have pervaded our lives, depriving us of the right to think, restraining our freedom of action and destroying our confidence in human values. They stifle our expectations of life, undermine our unadulterated sentiments and stigmatize us with labels to dampen our enthusiasm. Like chains and ropes tied around our hands and feet, they make it difficult for us to regain our identities in society at large. Unaccountably, they stir up resentment, slaughter and fighting, causing people to inform on and betray each other and depriving them of a minimum sense of good nature and conscience. With the collapse of the despotic system and departure of despotic emperors, the shadow cast by the tyrant still flickers before us. His whip still rattles in our daily life and his arrogance is still challenging our democratic principles and human rights. Recalling what occurred in the past will never fail to evoke appalling and unsettling feelings. Wherever despotism prevails, misfortunes and untold privations follow. And wherever it rears its head, there will be darkness and suffering. The extent of suffering is always determined by the duration of its visitation. The Chinese people have suffered deeply from despotism and dictatorship. We must smash this spiritual yoke and restore the good life for which we all long!

We need democracy and human rights more than at any time in the past. To have true democracy and human rights, we must first eliminate dictatorship and despotism. To wipe out ignorance, stubbornness and folly, we must topple old idols. Only by delivering everyone from the mire of prejudice and ignorance, making them mindful of science and encouraging them to contribute their wisdom to advance society will it be possible to safeguard our progress, enrich our life and realize our cherished dreams. Only by making everyone recognize the value of life and the great significance of survival can the democracy and human rights that we uphold be identified with social purpose and our dignity and beliefs be made more meaningful. To rouse the benumbed and enable the shortsighted to see what is occurring in the vast world, it is time to open to the outside world a society that has been closed for more than 2,000 years. The Chinese people must no longer

unceasingly be obsessed with the past, nor should they cling to the past and gleefully brag of an empty and aging civilization. More importantly, they should learn from advanced countries and study the universe beyond our planet....

The Chinese people who have suffered deeply from despotism should love themselves. They should discard the new spiritual idol they have set up and stop it from dominating their lives, physically and mentally, and thus denying them their right to freedom of action and expression.

Let us act in concert and demolish the spiritual great wall that for thousands of years has enslaved us. Let us open a closed society and link it with broad avenues to democracy and freedom.

CSO: 4005

## GUIYANG PAMPHLET CARRIES 16-POINT MANIFESTO

Guizhou JIE DONG [ THAW ] in Chinese 8 Mar 79 pp 1-3 HK

[Excerpts] To quicken the pace of thawing frosty and snow-covered China, greet the arrival of the first spring and attain the Chinese people's long cherished goal, this society is publishing the following manifesto which is its work program:

1. To actively propagate all kinds of progressive human ideals, it is now specially imperative to propagate Rousseau's ideas of human rights and Sun Zhongshan's democratic teachings.
2. To promote the study of culture and civilization which originated from the spirit of Christianity and to follow the pattern of democratic politics established under the guidance of Christian charity, tolerance, understanding, fraternity and doctrine.
3. To ask for multiform politics, ideology, arts, lifestyle and individuality, oppose all kinds of monarchy in "republican" clothing, and oppose all types of personal dictatorship promoted under the veil of "democracy."
4. To ask for a revision of the impracticable portions of Marxism, and an elimination of "class struggle," "violent revolution" and all types of dictatorship." This is because all types of "struggle," "violence" and "dictatorship" are used to break the unity of human beings.
5. To ask for a casting aside of the out-of-date portions of "Mao Zedong Thought," and to abolish various kinds of "Shaoshan-charge-type [Shao Shao Chong Shi 7300 1472 0394 1709] indigenous policies" which bind the productive forces and were formulated under the guidance of certain erroneous principles originated from the "Thought." To propose that all types of big and small "idols" and "tablets for quotations" fostered by the "gang of four" for Mao be immediately pulled down.
6. To ask for the eradication of all "old isms," "old thinkings" and "old ethical codes" in China which run counter to the general character of human beings and suppress individuality, and to eradicate various disgusting

fuedal ranks and bonds such as the bonds of "ruler, subject, father and son" which were the legacy of the several-thousand-year-old feudal despotic society.

7. To ask for the eradication of China's ancient conventions, and to make further explorations in new philosophical ideas, new political structures, new economic theories and new moral principles which suit the present and future conditions.

8. To ask for quickly changing Mao Zedong's personal party into a party that belongs to all party members and people throughout the country, and to exercise a comprehensive democratic collective leadership inside the party.

9. The government cannot be substituted by the party. We ask for the re-establishment of the state chairmanship. Mao Zedong's talk on forbidding the establishment of the state chairmanship is wrong. His personal will and wishes cannot represent the collective will of 30 million party members and hundreds of millions of people.

10. To ask for the formulation and perfection of a comprehensive body of basic laws of the state. In accordance with the constitutional regulations, senior state and party leaders must hold office through a true nationwide secret ballot. Those who are elected have a 4-year term of office. Those who combine ability with political integrity may renew their term of office if they are reelected. However, two terms of office are the maximum. We oppose any life-time ruling position. Having "superiors" appoint "representatives" who are strangers to the people defiles the public opinion.

11. To ask for the establishment and perfection of the democratic political and legal organizations that are compatible with modern science and technology and modern civilized livelihood. Under the guidance of this brand-new theory, we should gradually march toward the "new state of peace and democracy" as put forward by Chairman Liu Shaoqi.

12. To resolutely support the revolutionary daring spirit and the innovative and self-criticism spirit spread by the CCP during the new period; to resolutely support the party's great policies for completely shaking off the Chinese people's poverty and backwardness and the party's various wise concrete measures for realizing the Four Modernizations which are lofty goals.

13. Eternal glory to Chairman Liu Shaoqi and Marshal Peng Dehuai who were victimized by the awe-inspiring power of Mao Zedong's personal despotism as a result of promoting peace and democracy in China. They are the standard-bearers of the Chinese democracy. They will live forever in the hearts of the people!

14. To appeal to the CCP and the Chinese Kuomintang to abandon their old prejudices and hostilities, enter into new cooperation with each other under the new historical conditions, and make great historic contributions to the unification of China, the Chinese nation's democratic glory, and the world's progress and peace.

15. After the CCP and the Kuomintang have entered into cooperation with each other, we propose that both sides publicly announce their respective administrative programs on the basis of full democracy, implement democratic election and let the people freely choose a government they trust.

16. Thaw is the common wish of China and other countries in the world. Everyone who lives peace can hold aloft this banner and strive to realize a great thaw in the Chinese people's thinking, politics, ethics and feeling.

We vow to dedicate our lives to realizing the above manifesto!

Anyone who approves of the manifesto may freely join this society regardless of his social origin, political and economic status, race, belief or nationality. We fervently welcome people of ability and moral integrity in all walks of life to visit us and give advice.

The above manifesto is adopted by the first conference of all members of the Jie Dong She [Thaw Society] on 8 March 1979 in Guiyang.

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## REASSESSMENT OF MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUES URGED

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 7, 11 Mar 79 pp 1-2, 12

[Article by An Xiang [1344 4382]: "Clarify the Right and Wrong and Distinguish the Merits and Mistakes Before the People's Mind Can Become One and Move the Tai Mountain"]

[Text] The RENMIN RIBAO editorial of 9 February 1979 stated: "We must, throughout the nation, with one heart and one mind, pursue the four modernizations." It was an excellent statement, voicing what was in our mind. However, it did not completely express the momentous issues requiring solution much discussed among the masses. Possibly it was because of the lack of a complete understanding of the people's feelings, but even more possibly it was because the writer was afraid or unable to express them even though he was fully aware of them.

The editorial pointed out: "We must stress the solution of the major political issues and refrain from dwelling on trivialities." Those inside and outside the party are resentful of the phenomenon of failing to clarify the right and wrong, distinguish the merits and mistakes, and play fair in rewards and punishments. Under such a situation, how should we rally everyone and pursue the four modernizations with one heart and one mind? It is indeed thus: As some momentous issues in China's political life, to date, have not been solved, or there has yet been no plan for their solution, the broad masses inside and outside the party always talk about them incessantly, whispering to one another and feeling resentful. The more such issues are dodged, the more the people will talk about them. Therefore, the longer the solution of such issues is delayed, the more energy the people will expend on them. When the understanding is not unified, how can the people feel satisfied? How can it not affect the pursuit of the four modernizations?

In "Yearning and Reflection" (RENMIN RIBAO, 8 February 1979), Comrade Tao Xiaoyong [7118 1420 0516] stated aptly: "How complicated is life! It makes one see one aspect clearly but feel bewildered over another.... At times the truth is only one sheet of paper away, yet its clarification requires long pondering." Why should the distance of one sheet of paper require pondering for its clarification? Possibly because the consideration of such issues is still immature and therefore requires further

pondering, but doubtlessly even more because one is afraid to, in view of the fact that it is a "forbidden area." Many people hesitate, ponder, discuss and argue outside the "forbidden area" (even though only a sheet of paper), and sometimes the opponents become so excited that they actually come to blows.

To tell the truth, though very interested in and sympathetic with the appeals for redress of wrongs, the absolute majority of those coming to the "Democracy Wall" are more concerned with political issues: Has the "forbidden area" been broken through, and how much of it has been broken through? They are all waiting anxiously, eagerly gazing at Chonghanhai within a stone's throw from the wall. They want to break through the "forbidden area," but it is not without some lingering fear in their mind. There are, for instance, the following issues: 1. A general assessment of the merits and mistakes, and right and wrong, of the Great Cultural Revolution; 2. A general assessment of Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and mistakes, and right and wrong; 3. A general assessment of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's merits and mistakes, and right and wrong, etc. In regard to these issues, the people, as a rule, only discuss the matters as they stand, taking them item by item, and very few dare to make a general assessment! Anyone wishing to do so will be breaking through the "forbidden area" and running the risk of becoming a Khrushchev. Will it not earn one a super big label? How can one help hesitating at the prospect? We can thus see that the resistance to the solution of the issues is very great. However, should such super issues be solved? Should such super resistance be broken down, and when? Is it conceivable for us to continue talking about them for another 10 or 20 years, whispering to one another for another 10 or 20 years?

There are probably no greater so-called "major political issues" than those. Those super issues are absolutely not trivial! If they are not solved, there is probably no greater so-called "phenomenon of failing to clarify the right and wrong, distinguish the merits and mistakes, and play fair in rewards and punishment" than the phenomenon created by them. Will the existence of such gigantic "ambiguity" not make the people feel resentful and affect the progress of the "four modernizations?"

Of course, the solution of the super issues will produce some vibration. However, as long as we solve them by seeking the truth from the facts, some vibration is not alarming. Dissenting views may be debated or reserved for future discussion, but illegal acts are absolutely not permitted. Those disrupting the social, production or work order and those committing beating, smashing and looting must be firmly punished or placed under economic sanction! Any toleration and indulgence are crimes against the people! The "great democracy" of the Great Cultural Revolution was actually a reaction against democracy. It must never be permitted to reappear anywhere in our country! Meanwhile, the protection and guarantee of the people's democratic rights provided in the constitution must not be overlooked.

The method of solving the issues may be by means of full democratic discussions from above to below and from below to above. The forms of discussion may be manifold (such as large character posters, small character posters, forums, publications, etc.). The discussions should be held during spare time and by voluntary participation, and they should not interfere with work. Will it disperse the energy of the masses and affect the progress of the "four modernizations?" We maintain that some energy will be expended, but most likely it will not affect the progress of the "four modernizations." On the contrary, it may even promote the progress! When the issues are successfully solved by seeking the truth from the facts, then, not many people, from above to below, from the inside to the outside of the party, will spend any more energy talking about them. Then, we will be able to shift the people's energy to construction, and their mind will become one. In addition, with appropriate rewards and encouragement to those making rationalization proposals or outstanding contributions in work, with reform of political economy, and with correct policies, we believe that the prosperity and power of the fatherland can be expected within a very short time! The big mountains of poverty and backwardness pressing down on the heads of the Chinese people will be pushed aside rapidly!

On the other hand, the failure to solve the super issues, i.e., shelving or dodging them, is, after all, not a thorough and proper way, but will leave some doubts in the people's mind and block the "four modernization!" After weighing the pros and cons, solving them is better than not solving them, and early is better than late. We must believe that the people of China have attained the maturity to solve the issues.

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CSO: 4005

## **PROTECTION OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS DISCUSSED**

**Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 7, 11 Mar 79 pp 3-7**

**[Article: "A Simple Discussion of the People's Democratic Rights"]**

**[Text]** Editor: This article and "the Somniloquy of Several Sober Persons" were published on the Democracy Wall. With the consent of the writers, they are now reproduced in this periodical in order to spread them in the whole country.

In a socialist country, what rights should the people enjoy? On the momentous issue of safeguarding the essence of our people's republic, by what rights will the people's will be realized?

After the social practice of close to 30 years since the founding of the nation, especially after the so-called "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," these two problems are becoming more and more the focal point of the people's study and search. Only by solving them will the state truly and thoroughly belong to the people, and only then will the high speed building of China into a powerful nation with four modernizations be guaranteed. Each and every person with class awareness and social responsibility feeling must, by means of this task, courageously give his answer to history. Cowardly evasion will only encounter history's punishment. Together with the readers, I wish to discuss my superficial personal understanding of the concept of "the people's rights," and I hope for correction of my errors.

### **(1) Contents of the "People's Rights"**

They should include two great categories:

1. **Citizens' Rights:** They indicate the rights of living, multiplying, education, giving free reign to creativity, and developing individuality enjoyed by individuals living in society, such as labor, rest, education, freedom of marriage, freedom of movement, freedom to select occupation, personal freedom, freedom from violation of life and property, etc.

2. The People's Democratic Rights: They indicate protection of the determining influence of the people's will on the state and society and, as the legitimate rights of the citizens, include the rights of information, speech and supervision.

The right of information is the guarantee of the people's right to a comprehensive and accurate understanding of the various major conditions of the state and society, and constitutes the indispensable requirement to enable each and every citizen to deliberate and decide.

The right of speech is the guarantee of the people's self-education, and constitutes the indispensable requirement for the majority to reach unanimous and correct decisions.

The right of supervision is the guarantee of the people's decision on the state and the social and political life. Understanding the situation--making correct decisions--supervising their enforcement: This order of normal social activities is continuous, and any missing link will make the realization of the people's will impossible. At the same time, these three aspects of the people's democratic rights are for the purpose of assuring the accuracy, continuity and efficiency of the people's participation in the management activities of the state and society.

## (2) Citizens' Rights

Society is an association of individuals, and the individual is the smallest unit of society. The legitimate rights to be enjoyed by a citizen, as a normal individual of society, consist of such rights as life, multiplying, education, giving full rein to his creativity, and developing his individuality (including interests and hobbies), and these rights must receive the protection of society. Personal freedom and life and property must not be infringed upon.

However, such civil rights have a premise--the nonviolation of the interests of others and of society. Meanwhile, nor are they violated by others.

It is one point which must be recognized. An individual living in society does not have the absolute civil right of "doing whatever he wishes"; his rights are restricted. As individuals are different, their needs and interpretations are not the same, and if a person does whatever he wishes, he will, at times, inevitably violate the interests of others and society. To prevent violating the interests of others and society, a person's civil rights must be restricted. The concept of such restrictions exercised by society on individuals is the same but, due to the different levels in the development of the production force, the contents may vary accordingly; they may also vary according to the different social systems.

For instance, one wishes to thoroughly enjoy good hairtail during the Spring Festival. However, due to the low production force, the supply is limited. If one considers only oneself and one's family, one will

inevitably infringe upon the interests of others. When the social production force develops and the supply becomes large, naturally anyone can enjoy the delicacy to the full.

Take another instance: In a capitalist country, a citizen has the right to exploit his employees, but it is not permitted in our socialist state. Due to the different social systems, the interpretations of violating the interests of others and society also differ.

Currently, some people propose abolishing birth control, and demand absolute freedom of births. I personally feel that such interpretation of civil rights has failed to take into account the factors of the levels of the production force and of the culture and education of China. If the proposal is followed, it will inevitably infringe upon the interests of society and affect social development.

In view of the above, we find that the contents of "the people's rights" are not absolute and arbitrary, but relative and restricted. Most likely it is the major distinction between "human rights" and "citizens' rights."

In the Great Cultural Revolution, to usurp the party and seize power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wantonly trampled on the people's rights, beat, smashed, robbed, searched and arrested, set up private courts, tortured and persecuted, utterly disregarded human life, and slaughtered innumerable cadres and masses throughout the nation. The remnant poison of such ruthless feudal fascism has not been thoroughly purged even now. The masses who waved little red flags along the streets to welcome the Communist Party and the PLA could never have imagined that such brutal acts were actually permitted under the socialist system for so many years and considered "revolutionary." No wonder the masses said: "If this is socialism, we would rather be without it." Hereafter when we consider the citizens' rights, we must concretely protect the citizens' person and property from violation. Only thus will we be able to define the socialist legal system and win the confidence of the people.

### (3) The People's Democratic Rights

Should the people have democratic rights? Everyone will say yes. Why must the people have democratic rights? Everyone also understands the necessity. But when it comes to the contents of such rights and the legal form for their substantiation, we must give the matter our deliberation. I feel that the democratic rights enjoyed by the people, as the creators of history, the masters of the state, and the source of progress, should include:  
Right of information, right of speech and right of supervision.

1. Right of Information: Primarily the masses must understand the major conditions of their own country and society. If they are ignorant of the conditions, how can they reach any decision? Will not the manifestation of their will become a mere empty phrase? Where will the people's strength to promote the progress of society come from?

Let us give an example: Though the government has not made public the condition of the environmental pollution in Beijing, its severity is known to all who have eyes to see.

The air: Smog envelopes the city all day long, and becomes worse in winter, often obscuring the sun and moon. If one wishes to see the beautiful sunshine, one can only do so in the 1 or 2 days after a storm. The moment an automobile passes on the street, black smoke rolls. It is truly shocking!

Drinking water: Even after boiling, tap water often tastes like sulphanilamide, difficult to swallow. If the Beijing Waterworks is not the only concern, one will certainly change one's patronage.

The 8 million people of Beijing city live all year round in such an environment, and no end is in sight.

Today, many capitalist countries know enough to make public the conditions of environmental pollution and protection, in order to mobilize the strength of society to combat pollution, yet our government has never made known such conditions to the masters of society--the people. As a result, environmental protection work fails to obtain the support of the masses and produces very little effect over a long period of time. By comparison, one wonders just how much mass essence does our government have. We cannot even compare with the capitalist countries. Does it not call for the serious attention of the leading cadres of all levels?

Thereupon one calls to mind many big and small things. There are simply too many things which the people should, but don't know. If this issue is not concretely solved, while such terms as "masters," "heroes," and "confidence" are shouted all day long, will it not be extremely hypocritical vis-a-vis the title of the People's Republic of China?

Some people may stall on ground of "the necessity of secrecy." Actually, it cannot serve as an excuse to block information from the masses. We must scientifically reevaluate the various classified conditions and determine whether they actually serve to protect the interests of the people or to suppress their initiative.

2. Right of Speech: Upon its first emergence in society, any vital progressive idea is always controlled by a minority. To turn it into something accepted by the broad people, a process of self-education of the masses is required, and the fundamental condition to assure such process is the people's right of speech. This right makes it possible for the minority to educate the majority and vice versa. What is even more meaningful is for the masses to educate the cadres. Only when the majority of the masses reach a unanimous and correct understanding and exercise their right of supervision will it conform to the people's interests. Does not the history of the "Democracy Wall" precisely illustrate this point? Currently, many people have the desire to serve the country and the people, and they express themselves according to their personal experience and feelings, and some of their views may possibly

be incompatible with the "standard." Thereupon, some cadres become very agitated and think of all means to silence the minority, in order to maintain "order under Heaven." But they never think of making the majority, which has not expressed itself, talk and pursue self-education, thereby educating themselves, in order to reach the goal of common progress. Actually, will it not be even more compatible with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought which are constantly propagandized by us?

3. Right of Supervision: Everyone knows that life is not as simple as the song which says: "Follow the Communist Party; march on toward the Communist future." It was sung in the Soviet Union, yet the facts are completely contrary to it. It was also sung in China, but during the "Cultural Revolution," we almost fell into the abyss of calamity. It indicates that a political party, or an individual, may change, even to the extent of betraying the interest of the people. Such instances are not rare in the history of the world communist movement. Even the Chinese Communist Party has undergone great changes in the 30 years since the founding of the nation, some compatible with the people's interest and others not. Therefore, it is erroneous and one-sided to entrust the hope of protecting the people's interest entirely in the Communist Party. The most fundamental hope must be placed on the people, because a political party may change, while the people will always remain loyal to their own interest. Therefore, as long as it is in a period of peaceful construction, momentous affairs of the state and social and political life must be determined by the masses and their agents. The will of the people, when substantiated in forms of state laws, is the right of supervision.

It includes the people's rights to elect and supervise the work personnel at all levels of the state, and their right to vote directly or indirectly.

At first hearing, the people's will seems to be very vague, but when guaranteed by the right of supervision, it will manifest itself concretely.

The people's democratic rights are consistent with the Marxist-Leninist theories on the masses, classes, political parties and leaders, and constitute an important enrichment. The key is in our achieving mastery in practice.

Naturally, "the people's rights" may differ with the different historical periods and the different levels of economic development. Our present demand for the gradual perfection of the people's democracy is not the goal, but the means to realize sooner the four modernizations. On the other hand, the realization of the four modernizations will lay a more solid material foundation for "the people's rights" of a higher plane.

After 30 years of twists and turns, China's socialist revolution and construction cause has finally arrived at a historical leap-forward stage. Today, all progressive people in the world are looking attentively at China.

Every man has his responsibility in the fate of his country. While actively participating in the economic construction, all those among us who love the country and the people must raise high the great scientific and democratic banner of the "5 April Movement," help the Chinese Communist Party in its endeavor, promote the development of the people's democratic movement, push China's socialist cause to a new height, complete the four modernizations as early as possible, and struggle for a bright and beautiful people's socialist democratic state.

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## VIEWS OF ATTAINING TRUE DEMOCRACY EXPOUNDED

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 7, 11 Mar 79 pp 8-11

[Article: "The Somniloquy of Several Sober Persons"]

[Text] [Page 8 illegible].

The occurrence, development and conclusion of the Cultural Revolution did not eliminate the tremendous man-made effect, but no matter how great their power, they were unable to create history as they desired. Tolstoy felt that: "The higher the position of an individual on the social ladder and the larger the number of people having relationship with him, the greater is his power over others and the more obvious are the predetermination and inevitability of his every act."

Chairman Mao's initiation of the Cultural Revolution was definitely not something on the spur of the moment--an unwise move on the part of a great man. "Emperors and kings--they were the slaves of history." In historical incidents, the so-called great personages were merely a sort of label. Indeed, this man considered by Lenin as the mirror of the Russian Revolution might not object, but couldn't it be used to look at China?

We must smash worship of the individual. "The success of China's revolution was not the achievement of one man," Similarly, if the failure of the Cultural Revolution is charged lock, stock and barrel to one person, it will not be fair either. Recalling a painful experience, we must summarize our lessons, study the social condition of China, and unearth the inexorable law contained in the incidental phenomena.

### Today's Enemy to Democracy--a Preliminary Search for the Factors of the Failure of the Cultural Revolution

First, it was the economic backwardness, especially the backwardness of production and consumption linked directly with the people's daily living.

Next, it was the decadent and conservative ideology. In the past, we thought China's economy but ideology progressive. It was deceiving oneself as well as others. Mao Zedong Thought is merely a part of the

entire colossal and jumbled social ideological system. When generalization is desired, it cannot be concrete. When ideas are lacking, it is similar to living on just one kind of vitamin. Though necessary for good health, it is inadequate for survival, because without starch, fat, protein, etc., the ancestral feudal consciousness will flow freely.

The third factor was the gradually forming bureaucratic stratum in the party. An apparent and fixed disparity in labor, income and position appeared between those in the central and local government, especially a considerable portion of the intermediate cadres, and the masses around them. They feared the masses, opposed democracy, and promoted "the will of the superior official" on their own behalf, while worship of the individual was linked with their intimate interest. Maybe some people will suddenly change color in agitation: "You hold the same view as the 'gang of four!'" Unfortunately, the truth will not turn into a fallacy just because it was abused.

#### The Conditions for the Complete Success of Democracy

The conclusion from the above discussion is: 1. To realize the four modernizations, the situation of a wealthy state and impoverished people must absolutely not be permitted to arise. We must vigorously raise the industrial and agricultural material level--the enjoyment level. 2. We must promote national consciousness, and change the customary view of matters. We must emancipate individuality, and avoid the situation of "unity in thinking; unity in will" of the hundreds of millions. "Diversity will not only not undermine unity on the principal, fundamental and essential issues, but will assure such unity." (Lenin) 3. There should be a change of shift of the leaders. Many cadres in China are characterized by their old age, ignorance and inflexibility. They should be gradually replaced by young, able, honest and upright persons promoted for their achievements in work. But it should not be done by means of knocking down, but by means of such peaceful transition as election, retirement and other measures.

The foregoing conditions are also the goal of the democratic movement. It will be the inevitable outcome of history. No force can resist the final victory of democracy. Democracy is the affair of the majority, but at the beginning it is only a minority which struggles for it. Li Yizhe's [2621 0001 0772] solitary appeal of former years has evoked a resonant new response.

Let us remember firmly Lu Xun's words: China all along has very few defeated heroes, very few instances of tenacious resistance, very few soldiers with the spirit to fight singlehandedly, and very few open mourners for rebels. They swarm over signs of victory and flee from signs of defeat.

#### Making Public the State of the Nation--the Need of Democracy Today

Concealing the state of the nation from the people is depriving them of the right to speak on the running of the country. If we truly desire democracy

and make the people the masters, we must not practice deception. Yet, the information reported in our newspapers and various kinds of documents are only a very small part of what the people have the right to know, and even then it is not all true.

As the newspapers are directly controlled by the government, suppressing unpleasant information has almost become the rule. To put it more exactly, the state of the nation is not reported objectively. The newspapers have the obligation to make periodical full reports to the people on the output of the various products in the national economy, foreign trade, communication, finance, market, public order, natural disasters, circulation of the various kinds of publications and newspapers, etc.

Furthermore, the people must understand the political, as well as the economic, situation of the state. Today, it is difficult for the common people to know the views and plans of our leaders on running the country. The various normal differences of opinions inside the central government should be revealed to the people for their evaluation. Did not Wang Dongxing [3076 2639 5281] and Wu De [0702 1795] become the target of public censure when their "brilliant idea" on the Tiananmen Incident was revealed to the people?

The people's power of discrimination is excellent. Machiavelli, a philosopher of the Middle Ages, once said: "The conduct of the politicians relying on moral people will be better than that of those relying on people who are indifferent to moral issues, and any criminal act committed by them will become widely known in society, which is better than in a society under a strict inspection system controlled by them." Some people object to making conditions public on ground of the necessity of secrecy. What necessity of secrecy? Everyone has secrets. One has to wear swimming trunks in the swimming pool! But if you cover your entire body, including even a veil on your face, then you probably have boils all over you! Actually, it is no use to cover up. You probably will get well sooner if you get some sunshine!

If we wish to realize control of the country by the people and give them the right to speak, while the bases for their speech are withheld, how can we convince them that we really wish them to speak? When some leaders shout the slogan of democracy yet refuse to reveal the actual conditions of the state, thus withholding the premise of democracy, is it because they also wish to be a Lord Ye [professing love of what they fear]?

#### My Humble Opinion on Running a Newspaper

The newspapers in China today are all run by the government. Every article and every view are by order of the government. It is impossible for the views of "common people" without the approval of "authoritative" figures to be published. However, truth always appears in an unorthodox form. "Authority" comes from true reason, but vice versa, reason does not come from authority. (Yilijina).

The Democracy Wall undertaking has the attention of the whole world, because it was completely spontaneous, not manipulated by anyone, nor controlled by the spirit of the superior. Nevertheless, the range of its influence is limited and not enduring, while the various kinds of publications appearing on the street recently have an unlimited future. Their development will be extremely beneficial to the democratic movement.

#### Ideas on a Newspaper Run by the People

The various current publications should form an editorial department with scheduled elections. The government may send delegates, and their authority consists of having access to the inside information on the running of the newspaper; making recommendations to the government, and also to the newspaper office; making sure that the publication does not reveal state secrets which should not be revealed as provided by law; forbidding the publication of personal attacks and pornography; guarding against embezzlement of profit made by the publication. Meanwhile, the government should furnish printing presses and paper supplies to the publisher. It will constitute the distinction between the socialist true democracy and the capitalist false democracy as discussed by Lenin.

Manuscripts from the people of all fields should be treated impartially.

It is preferable for the form of the publication to be weekly or semi-monthly. The main office should be established in Beijing, with agencies in other areas. Individuals may either subscribe for it or buy individual issues.

The people should raise the operating funds themselves, seek government loans, and be responsible for the profit or loss. After repaying the loan for the equipment furnished by the state, the publication should pay the required taxes according to schedule.

The foregoing opinion serves as something to attract the valuable views of others. I hope that men of insight will join forces, adding prestige to democracy and giving voice to freedom.

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## BEIJING NEWS

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 7, 11 Mar 79 p 12

[Text] Beijing, 1 Mar--At the time when China and America were exchanging ambassadors, some of the young workers of Beijing, with the initiative of creating China's modern history, formed the "Preparation Office for the Friendship Association of the Peoples of China and America," erecting yet another bridge linking the two shores of the Pacific for the friendly intercourse between the peoples.

The purpose of the association is to increase the friendly intercourse and mutual understanding of the peoples of the two countries by all kinds of ways, so that their friendship will endure for generations to come. The members of the association must be citizens of China who fervently love the fatherland, uphold the national dignity, seek no private gain for individuals or groups, and do not use the association as an arena of political struggles. The association will do everything possible to introduce to the Chinese people the advanced science and technology, enterprise management, and literature and art created by the American people. Meanwhile, it will also do everything possible to render aid to the American people for a better understanding of the Chinese people. It will collect and translate material, issue publications, organize forums and show films. To hasten the realization of the four modernizations, it is necessary to send young people abroad, under the condition of not increasing, or increasing very little, the burden on the state, on work-study programs. The preparation work for the association is now underway.

The mailing address of the preparation office is: Chu Jipeng [5969 4949 7720], 11 Chayuan Hutong, West City Ward, Beijing City.

Beijing, 4 Mar--To break through the "forbidden area," Xue Mingde [5641 2494 1795], a young painter from Chongqing, Sichuan, traveled 1,000 li to hold a private exhibition in front of the Democracy Wall, winning the attention of the masses of Beijing and foreigners concerned.

It is reported that a certain post office in Lushun city not only pays strict attention to issues of this publication sent through the mail, but actually rudely asks the recipients to open the wrapping on the spot, loudly reprimanding them: "Why are such things mailed here?"

The several constitutions since the founding of the nation all provide explicitly that the state must protect the citizens' freedom of communication, and must not infringe upon it. Yet, certain individuals of the Lushun post office obviously opened and inspected this publication sent through the mail in violation of law, and actually threatened ordinary citizens. The editorial department of this publication has lodged a strong protest against such brutal act of trampling on the constitution, and this announcement is made known to the entire country, and to the Commission for Inspecting Discipline of the Party Central Committee, the Supreme People's Court, the Supreme Procuratorate, the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications and the RENMIN RIBAO.

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## AMBIGUITY IN WORDING OF LAWS CRITICIZED

Beijing SIWU LUNTAN [5 APRIL FORUM] in Chinese No 7, 11 Mar 79 pp 17-20

[Article by Xiao Min [5135 3046]: "The Wording of Policy With the Force of Law Must Be Scientific"]

[Text] Recently the party Central Committee decided to remove the label on the four kinds of elements. It is a momentous strategic policy for the purpose of hastening the realization of the four modernizations. Just think: In the past, we tackled class struggles everyday, artificially created such struggles, and competed in the number of class enemies seized. But today, we want to enlist even those so-called true class enemies into our camp, so that more people (here, it is not merely the four kinds of elements themselves) will gain emancipation and vigorously pursue the four modernizations. What a tremendous change! And what a wise policy!

However, similar to the fate encountered by the many policies promulgated by the party Central Committee after smashing the "gang of four," though the policy under discussion is good, it will become an entirely different matter when enforced by the lower level. "Seeking the truth from the facts; correcting any mistakes." Is it good? It is. Yet what happens when it is enforced? The comrades living in the basic level know it best. Everyone deeply feels that, no matter how good the policy, once it gets to the "lower level," there is always a way "to make the thing serve myself," depriving it of its original intent. It is the reason why, even now, some people cannot arouse their energy or acquire any confidence, and why some young people, even now, are still unwilling to return to this "worldly society."

Then, why does the "lower level" dare to do so, and how can it do so? The reasons may be many. For instance, the powers may be over-centralized. Combining the powers of the party, the government and the enterprises into one is an important reason. However, this writer feels that, prior to the reform of the systems, the "superior level," from the angle of policy formulation, can, to a certain extent, curb the insubordination of the "lower level."

Therefore, when formulating policies, the wording must be accurate, using scientific language and standards, instead of daily life terms and literary language which tend to be ambiguous.

For instance, the decision on removing the label from the four kinds of elements reads: Except for those of a very small number who persist in the reactionary standpoint and who have failed to reform properly until now, all the landowner, rich peasant, reactionary and bad elements who have, for many years, obeyed the laws and decrees of the government, performed honest labor, and done no evil deed, after evaluation by the masses and approval by the revolutionary committee, will have the label removed and be given the same treatment as members of the people's commune.

1. "A very small number": Any number can be simultaneously small and large. Therefore, the terms "large number" and "small number" cannot accurately express the numerical concept. Our policies are, in fact, "laws" to be enforced by the "lower level." The solemnity of laws requires that the regulations and articles be worded scientifically, accurately and rigorously, so that there are no loopholes and no way to interpret them subjectively. When such simple daily life words as "large" and "small" are employed in a document with the force of law, it will only furnish the openings for some people. It may even lead to confusion! An individual can arbitrarily compare a "number" under his control against a "number" selected by him and come to the conclusion that it is "a very small number." Furthermore, it is a document, and not a work summary. In an area or a unit, there may, or may not, be the four kinds of elements requiring continued supervision and reform. Since we must start from reality, if there is, there is; if there isn't, there isn't. Then, what is the point for the "number?" By "a very small number," is it the conclusion after a comprehensive investigation of the manifestations of the four kinds of elements in the entire country? Or does it come from the habitual way of drafting policies in the past?

Since an area or a unit must start from reality, is it not contradictory to use the term "a very small number?" The document defines the kind of individuals (the range) and the qualification required for the removal of the label. Yet the term "a very small number" confuses the issues of range and qualification. To limit the exceptions to "a very small number," we may have the situation of keeping the label on qualified individuals and removing it from those not qualified (theoretically speaking). If we want to start from reality, we cannot have "a very small number"; if we want "a very small number," we cannot start from reality. Thus, the lower level can enforce it whatever way it wishes. If someone should appeal a decision, those in charge in the lower level may say: "You are one of a very small number, and we only attack one!" Or, they may say that this "very small number" is in terms of the entire country. I feel that this is because, for many years, those in charge started from concepts, theories, ideology and conclusions, and not from reality. The document, in its general spirit, starts from reality, and was drafted by starting from the objective reality of the four kinds of elements who have reformed and for the purpose of

reversing the "bad old practices" created by the theory of the eternity of the class struggle. However, the contradictions in wording resulting from the subjective, idealist and metaphysics matters in the mind of the leaders concerned when discussing the document might have created certain troubles in practical work.

2. "Obeying the laws and decrees of the government, performing honest labor and doing no evil deed." The wording and standard are both extremely ambiguous, and anyone may interpret it arbitrarily and give it his subjective meaning. What is honest and what is dishonest? What is a good deed and what is a bad deed? It is not accurate legal language, nor accurate objective standard. The same incident of the same individual may lead to two different conclusions. For instance, when a landowner element has many contacts with the young intellectuals and gives consideration to their living, it is a good deed. But people may construe it as corrupting and soliciting and as fighting against us for the young people. Haven't there been many instances of such confusion in recent years? Haven't the people suffered much on this account? Haven't the losses been great? The flexibility of "obeying the laws and decrees of the government" is even greater. Our legal system is not sound. Though there are thousands and tens of thousands of four kinds of elements undergoing supervision and reform among the masses, actually the government has not promulgated any explicit law governing their reform. As far as they are concerned, the law is that anyone having authority over them may make "demands" on them; the "demands" are the law, and represent the government and the proletarian dictatorship. Thus, it also serves as the standard to determine his honesty or dishonesty. Therefore, very few of the four kinds of elements in the past were considered honest. The article entitled "Why Did She Commit Crimes?" in the 20 February issue of BEIJING RIBAO is very enlightening. To avoid resisting the spirit of a document by distortion, accurate scientific terms must be used in its drafting.

For instance, it will be much more accurate in expression if the phrase "obeying the laws and decrees of the government" is clarified as follows: "In the most recent 10 years since being labeled, [the subject] has not violated any of the written laws promulgated by the state or encountered legal sanction."

"Honest labor" may be clarified as follows: A commune member whose work is at the same level as others, whose annual attendance rate is not lower than other commune members, and whose quality of work is up to standard; or a working personnel who has not been absent from work without cause, who fulfills his work quota without producing rejects, and who has not violated labor discipline. (Absences due to illness certified by a physician or by the brigade excepted.)

3. "Persisting in the reactionary standpoint, and failing to reform properly." When there is no concrete provision, how can it be determined whether or not an individual is persisting in the reactionary standpoint, and whether or not he has properly reformed?

Now everyone is complaining about the middle-level cadres. Actually they have their difficulties. A document like this can be interpreted in different ways, and the initiative rests with the superior level. Hereafter, whether it is too left or too right, there is always an explanation. On the other hand, when the provisions are clear and scientific, the lower level will be able to follow them.

Vagueness and ambiguity have created chaos on the ideological and political fronts and brought us great disasters. The source came from Mr Mao Zedong, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of the loopholes, and the condition reached the peak in the Great Cultural Revolution. Politics is also a science, and following one's own way won't do. Though not as apparent as in the natural sciences, the detrimental effect is grave. Have we not reaped what we sowed? On the other hand, our common people must promote science and refrain from superstition. Comrade Mao Zedong's class struggle theory will not be able to withstand conscientious scrutiny, except that he had great power at that time and was a great man; therefore, no one argued with him. If, similar to some countries, we could write articles or hold interviews with him, then his class struggle theory would not withstand a few questions. To a large extent, the calamities encountered by the Chinese Communist Party and the nation of China in the recent decade were because Mao Zedong, in his late years, lacked a scientific mind and his thinking became rigid, while he occupied a high position and considered his own words and ideas imperial edicts to guide the party and the state. After smashing the "gang of four," we must bring order to the chaos, make a complete overhaul and launch a new long march. We must open our own path, and the abuses of the past, regardless of the realm they were in, must be negated and criticized; they must not be inherited.

In recent years, we have suffered from the unsoundness of the legal system. Currently, though we talk about making sound the legal system day in and day out, it is much thunder and little rain. In regard to things which can be done, why don't we do them immediately? Removing the label for the four kinds of elements, for instance, is an undertaking to realize the "legal system." The National People's Congress should pass the law for enforcement by the courts of the various levels. Acting on behalf of the judicial department by the administrative and government departments is a manifestation of the unsoundness of the legal system to begin with. Though the courts of the various levels have not been made sound, why are they not permitted to perform the work within their jurisdiction instead of "evaluation by the masses and approval by the revolutionary committee?" Everyone living in the basic level knows what "evaluation by the masses" means. It may be better for the work personnel of the courts to poll different individuals and clarify the conditions.

Some people may accuse me of nitpicking. But one should understand the spirit of the party Central Committee. It is to remove the label for everyone. So it should not be so worded in the document as if there is still "a very small number" "failing to reform properly!" Is it indeed so? That is even further from the true attitude of a materialist.

## ABOUT WISTERIA AND ITS KIND

Beijing BEIJING ZHICHUN [BEIJING SPRING] in Chinese No 1, 9 Jan 79  
pp 41-42

[Article by Suo Qian [4792 6197]]

[Text] I find Yang Suo's "Litchi Honey" most interesting. Picking up the pen happily, I also want to express my feelings by depicting an inanimate object.

Smoothing out the paper, closing my eyes and concentrating, I see a beautiful picture of green pines and red blooms unfolding slowly before me. Should I write about the noble and strong pine? It would be rather commonplace. Should I write about the red foliage of late fall in the Western Hills? Mr Chen's exquisite pen was ahead of me. What about the lilies over the water in midsummer? It would merely be such platitudes as "rising out of mud unsullied." Mulling it over back and forth, I am unable to find a suitable subject among the plants and flowers for my self-expression. Looking around the room, there are only a few pieces of wooden furniture, stiff and lifeless. For the time being, I am stymied. Throwing down the pen, I saunter out of the house.

The yard, however, is full of life. The several rose bushes compete for brilliancy; the whites and pinks seem to be made of silk. The two flourishing crab apple trees are covered with little fruits like tiny lanterns, most pleasing to the eye. Even the wisteria in the corner is also full of vigorous vines, climbing along the wall all the way to the roof.

I am suddenly enlightened. Isn't this a good subject? Fearing no tortuosity and ever advancing upward, doesn't the wisteria deserve commendation for its spirit. Thereupon I approach it and carefully examine and admire this plant which I have ignored all along.

The wisteria is truly flourishing. Its main vines, with diameters as big as bowls, twist around one another like snakes to climb up the wall. The dense tendrils stretch in all directions, and the layers of green leaves almost cover the entire side of the wall. Amidst the clumps of green are hung clusters of purple blossoms. At first glance, they look like butterflies poised for flight.

I don't know when the wisteria was planted, but only seem to remember that it was not as vigorous as now; it only crouched in the corner. But today, it has actually ascended the roof. I am truly amazed, and I even feel a solemn respect. Casually I pluck a cluster of blooms to sniff at its fragrance, and an article finally begins to ferment in my mind.

I examine the wisteria over and over again, and ponder on how to begin. Inadvertently I discover two little unknown saplings under the wisteria, stubbornly sending out a few shoots under its thick cover. Had I paid no attention, I would never have discovered them. Gently spreading the vines, I receive a great shock. The little saplings, from top to bottom, are tightly entwined by the vines, like prisoners tied in ropes, yet they still struggle stubbornly under the pressure and coils of the wisteria, barely maintaining their one breath of life.

Suddenly I realize that the wisteria has reached the roof by climbing on the saplings. It considers only its own advancement, without thought of the life or death of the saplings. Apart from the saplings and the support of the wall, will it be able to stand on its own for an instant?

My former feeling of respect is swept away. I sympathize with the saplings under oppression and feel indignant for them. I curse the wisteria which is similar to a poison snake and hate it bitterly!

Impassioned, I think of the human world. Are there not also those of the same kind as the wisteria who always climb up by stepping on the shoulders of others?

The abominable "wisteria and its kind!"

Suo Qian

1978.11.23

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## WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY

Beijing BEIJING ZHICHUN [BEIJING SPRING] in Chinese No 1, 9 Jan 79  
pp 43-45

[Article by Wang Yingbin [3769 5391 2430]]

[Text] Editor: The RENMIN RIBAO of 3 August 1978 published a letter from Comrade Wang Yingbin, a young worker of the Beijing Seventh Machine Tool Plant, entitled "a Discussion of my Tail." He stated that he was illegally arrested and jailed for posting his revolutionary poems in Tiananmen Square on Chinese Memorial Day in 1976. Upon his release after the "gang of four" was smashed, the public security bureau arbitrarily put a political "tail" on him, on ground that he once wrote a "yellow" story. For this reason, the public security bureau was furious over the support rendered him by RENMIN RIBAO, even went to the newspaper office to file a "lawsuit," and insisted that Wang Yingbin's story written as an exercise in composition was "yellow." Now we publish the story here for our readers to decide together on its color.

For a long time, I wanted to write a reminiscence of my first love, but it was put off time and again. Would I be able to recreate successfully the image of the figure which I wished to portray? And would I be able to withstand my own weakness? If I recalled the forgotten events of the past, it would force me to relive the inextricable inner struggles of former years. It would be hard to bear.... For this reason, I laid down my pen time and again, for I lacked the courage to proceed.

However, in the depth of the night when all was quiet, a dark and beautiful face, like a fairy lantern, would float above me. The light steps, the lovely smile, and the indescribable gentleness would

gush forth like waves.... When I began to reminisce, my thoughts became jumbled. In the quiet depth of the night, the miraculous yet hazy memory, together with an unforgettable figure, again serenely floated before my eyes. Had I not forgotten everything long ago? My mistake, which I admit, was.... Wait a moment--I seem to see a pair of reproaching eyes--It is she, with her head bowed and her face averted. "Why don't you let me say it?--What? Already late. Yes, I admit. Otherwise, why would I write this reminiscence?...."

When I was 22 years old, I transferred from an organ to a plant. My story began with the day of my transfer.

The sunshine of March brought the breath of spring to the great earth. Clusters of flowering plums along the road had just broken out their young green sprouts. Several willow trees at a distance sent forth a pale green smoke. This was "Happiness Street" which I was looking for. Thank God, it was a propitious name!--I was just frowning.

Before me, a large metal door painted red sat on the west side of the street. Trash was piled outside, and the yard was uneven, everywhere piles of scrap iron and rusting steel. All sorts of loud noise emitted from the several dilapidated small buildings.--Was this the plant which I had been looking forward to? There should be a straight asphalt road, tall and big plant buildings, brand-new machineries, etc.

Next to the main gate was a small grey brick hut. Its one wooden door was filthy from grease. This probably was the reception office. I approached hesitantly and knocked gently, expecting an old man almost deaf and blind to emerge. However, my guess was wrong. Standing in front of me was actually a young girl not quite 20 years old. In a split second, I found the place beautiful and grand, as if it were my home town. It was a tremendous attraction--forever.

She wore a clean white work cap on her head. A faint smile appeared on her swarthy face. A pair of black eyes revealed their charm.--It was her. When I first described her, I asked for blessings for her. I cannot accurately describe my reaction when she first appeared before my eyes. Was it like a rainbow in my heart? It was hazy, yet intense. It has been 7 years. No matter how the fearsome storms of life corrode my memory, her smile has never left me for one moment. It is very clear, yet so far away.--It is the memory of a life time.

Her figure was slim. She wore a faded denim work jacket, a print undershirt visible at the collar of the jacket, a sky blue sweater, blue slacks, black corduroy cloth shoes with a square opening, and pink socks.--It was her, neatness and elegance permeating her simple attire.

"Is this the bicycle parts plant?" Looking at her absent-mindedly, I inquired formally.

"Whom are you looking for?" She asked with one hand on the door frame.

"I am looking for Liu X X." It was the responsible person of the workshop whom the plant personnel section told me about.

"Oh, he went to meet you!" She seemed suddenly to guess my identity, and appeared delighted. The straightforwardness in her words made it seem that it was not our first meeting.--Maybe we were destined to meet. I came to the parts plant with hesitancy, yet destiny had arranged for a young girl to welcome me. In this instant, many novel images piled into my mind, and all my hesitations were forgotten. I immediately made an irrevocable decision.... In subsequent years, I forced myself to forget this instant time and time again. I comforted myself: I can forget.--Now, through the veils of time, I seem to hear again her voice; I seem to stand before her; I ask her in a low voice:

"Is this the end of everything?....

In face of the candid and friendly expression of an unknown girl in this instant, I was actually at a loss for words. With a smile, she asked me to enter the little reception office: "Please wait for him inside."

About 9 square meters in size, the little room contained a wooden bench covered with a black and dirty hard canvas, a briquet stove in the middle, and a two-drawer table near the window sill with a telephone on it. There was no chair. I glanced around looking for a place to sit.--To tell the truth, after having been in an organ for 5 or 6 years, I was extremely "happy" to be transferred to such a plant.

She found a piece of old newspaper and smiled an apology: This room is too dirty. Use this paper to sit on.

"Thank you," I took the paper and spread it on the greasy canvas.-- Such deliberate refinement made me look like a courteous guest. She silently lowered her eyes.... In this instant, what did I see? What did I think? I only saw rosy clouds enveloping the entire world before my eyes.

The sunlight of early spring shone on the glass window, and the room was warm. In this unfamiliar and awkward environment, I faced an

intelligent and bright young girl.--She was the first woman in work clothes whom I met after entering the gate of the plant, and also the first, and only, girl who brought many fantasies into my mind.

In subsequent months and years, I made all sorts of idealist conjectures, and attributed my failure to fate. Thus, I would be excused from blaming myself....

Holding a large paper folder in her hand and looking out of the window, she asked me while copying something: "Are you also transferred from an organ?"

Upon my reply, she smiled and added: "Were you a chief?"

"No," I denied not very firmly.

"Wong," she raised her head and smiled amiably. "You are too embarrassed to admit. Actually I knew it long ago."

"How did you know?" I asked in reply.

"Before you came, I heard about it. A while ago the plant guard telephoned that there was a new transferee. I already guessed it when you came to the door."

I could only smile.

"Has your work been decided?" She pushed back a lock of long hair with her fingers.

"Already agreed upon. Punch press worker."

"Is that so?" She stopped her pen and tilted her head. Surprise and pleasure flashed out of her eyes. Before I could figure out the meaning of her words, she suddenly said: "Look, they are here to see you."

At this time, several people crowded into the door, including my old colleagues from the organ. In work clothes, they were actually workers. While chatting, Little Shao said: "Except me, everyone in this room belongs to the punch press team."

Hearing this, I pretended disinterest, but could not help glancing at her.--The leading character of my reminiscence had retreated to the corner near the window. When our eyes met, I clearly noticed an embarrassed smile on her face.... Now, in the depth of the night, she has probably long fallen asleep. I cannot hear her gentle breathing.

nor can I see her smile in her sleep.--In former years, it was because of the smile that I truly and firmly made up my mind. What a tremendous price I paid! The innumerable sleepless nights, and even more sleepless nights yet to come.... Probably everyone would find it sad, but maybe I experienced another kind of love, a distant and faint smile burning in the bottom of my heart. The morning breeze from the window makes me feel refreshed, drying the new tears on my cheeks.

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CSO: 4005

## NOTICE SOLICITING CONTRIBUTIONS

Beijing BEIJING ZHICHUN [BEIJING SPRING] in Chinese No 1, 9 Jan 79  
pp 47-48

[Notice soliciting contributions by Gong Nianzhou [7895 1819 0719],  
China Drama Academy]

[Text] After undergoing the severe test of the great "5 April" Movement, the ideological awareness of the Chinese people has risen to an unprecedented height. With the encouragement of the "5 April" spirit, and raising high the great banner of science and democracy, they have created the "Democracy Wall." Its creation has a great practical and far-reaching historical significance. The revolutionary poems and articles published on it will serve as important data for studying China's modern revolutionary history.

Collecting, arranging, and editing the "Democracy Wall" poems and articles constitute a solemn yet glorious fighting task. It has a tremendous significance in urging the people of China to break down superstition, emancipate their mind, and realize the four modernizations on an early date.

For this reason, we have decided to collect, arrange, and publish "On Science, Democracy, and the Legal System—Selections of Democracy Wall Poems and Articles," and we hope for the vigorous support of the broad people, the Party Central Committee, the State Council, and the printing and publishing units.

### I. Range of Solicitation

Poems and articles of the following contents posted on "Democracy Wall" (including those posted in the same period in Wangfujing Street, Taijichang, and the vicinity of the Monument to the People's Heroes):

1. Poems and articles extolling our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao.
2. Poems and articles extolling our revered and beloved Premier Zhou.
3. Poems and articles extolling the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.
4. Poems and articles extolling the "5 April" Movement and the "Democracy Wall."
5. Poems and articles exposing and criticizing the "gang of four" and its remnants.
6. Poems and articles discussing science, democracy, and the legal system.
7. Scientific, historical, and dialectic evaluation of historical figures.
8. Hand copied handbills and mimeographed tabloids run by the people (such as the "5 April [illegible]," etc.).
9. Indictments by citizens' groups.
10. Others.

## II. Mailing Address

Will the authors and copiers of poems and articles of the above described contents please mail to: [Illegible] Street, China Drama Academy, Gong Nianzhou.

China Drama Academy

Gong Nianzhou

1979 [illegible]

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CSO: 4005

## THE AWKWARD PREDICAMENT OF A FLATTERER

Beijing BEIJING ZHICHUN [BEIJING SPRING] in Chinese No 1, 9 Jan 79  
pp 35-37

[Text] When one listened to the comic dialogue of Ma Ji and Tang Jiezhong, one exclaimed "Bravo! Bravo!" Everyone had a good belly laugh. It was a heartfelt delight. When discussing comic dialogue, the editor of the BROADCASTING NEWS praised it as a biting ridicule of flattery. Actually, comrade editor was an outsider; he lacked solid knowledge. Ma Ji who ridiculed others for flattery is actually one of them. These days, the moment Ma Ji is mentioned, everyone curses him in hatred. Even 3-year old children spit to show their contempt. As a matter of fact, if one calms down and thinks carefully why people flatter and what advantages there are, then one will not do so.

The old men and old women whom my parents and I come into contact with are all old cadres who suffered the persecution of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Even now, some of them have not had the policy implemented or their work assigned. Why are they in such a situation? The comrades will say: "Because they were persecuted by Lin Biao and the 'gang of four.'" I say that this is the objective reason, and there is also a subjective reason in themselves which we must uncover. Was their work not satisfactory? They worked diligently and consistently for decades without let-up. Were they dissatisfied? They buried their head in work and toiled, never uttering one improper word. In the final analysis, it is because they do not know how to flatter. These old comrades sincerely exhort the younger generation: We of our generation have suffered a disadvantage for not knowing how to flatter. You young people must learn the skill.

The readers will probably be in an uproar when they read to here: Those old fellows are agitating! Comrades, hold it a moment. Let me explain slowly.

According to the need of the revolution, I was assigned to serve under Section Chief Tang as a worker. In other word, I handed my destiny over to him. My political life, grade and raises in salary, promotion, dwelling and furniture, everything, even love and marriage, are all in his hands. He can make arbitrary decisions, issue orders, eat and drink the blood and sweat of the workers, and plot against them, and all those around him keep saying: "Section Chief Tang, good, good!" Do I dare to say "not good, not good?" I hope my comrades would understand my predicament. The path of life is similar to navigating the ocean. In a force 10 typhoon, even ships of 10,000 tons have to take shelter, let alone me, an insignificant little boat. [Words missing]. He makes me wear tight shoes. [Words missing]. In China, to get a transfer in one's work is harder than flying an airship. [Illegible]. Above, I have parents of advanced years; below, I have yet to find a wife and have children. Whether he is right or wrong, I have to follow suit and flatter. I must flatter even more skillfully than Ma Ji. Only thus will I get promoted. I dream of becoming an official, because in China, it is not money which is everything, but power. I want to become an official; I want to become an official regardless of the means. Some comrades may ask: "If you do so, will the masses not oppose you?" What can the masses do to me? As long as I flatter my superiors successfully, their words will mean nothing; they cannot dismiss me. At most I may have to transfer to another unit as an official. Furthermore, when I really become an official, they will turn around and flatter me. I will wipe my face and change my smiling expression before my superiors to an angry expression before my subordinates.

Probably my comrades feel concerned for me: Maybe you will not have a good ending? No! As proved by practice, such concern is unnecessary. Just look, those like my father serving as the target of criticisms and suffering harms have not been given dwellings (men still living in men's dormitories and women in women's dormitories), while the high level and second grade running dogs of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have all enlarged their homes. They still eat the fragrant and drink the pungent; they still issue orders and do evil things. Are not those culprits who beat people at Tiananmen still safe and sound? They can still say they were taken in. The comrades probably are interested in the present condition of He Shifei of "In a Silent Place." You may even be worried about him. Let me tell you: At a literature forum, a reporter asked Zong Fuxian: "How is He Shifei now?" "He is now selling Tang Youcai," replied the writer.

Who doesn't like to hear pleasant words? I like to read Lu Xun's novels, especially "Setting forth One's Views." After reading it during the Great Cultural Revolution, I can remember it very clearly. Mr Lu Xun said: "There was a new baby in the family, and everyone

came to express his congratulations. Some one said: This baby will become very rich in the future. Thereupon he received the compliments of everyone (doubtlessly good words). Another said: This baby will become an official in the future. He also received the warm hospitality of the host. Then another said: This baby will die in the future. Thereupon everyone joined in to give him a sound beating." Mr Lu Xun commented: "To become rich or powerful may not happen, but to die is a certainty." His conclusion was: "One will take a beating when telling the truth." He asked his teacher: I do not want to tell lies, yet I am afraid of taking a beating. What should I do? The teacher said: You just say: Ah... this baby... Ah...

To tell the truth will earn a beating. I do not want to take a beating, and I also want to eat good food; therefore, I must learn how to flatter. It is regrettable that no one at home can tutor me, and outside, it is a secret formula which I cannot obtain. It is very difficult to learn. But I am still determined. I suggest that the young comrades also do the same. Do not always get red in the face arguing about the right or wrong of things. If you successfully flatter the leaders, it will be better than anything. Some comrades may ask: After flattering Section Chief Tang for such a long time, what would you do if he gets dismissed? It doesn't matter. One can then flatter Section Chiefs Hou Baolin and Guo Quanbao.

The comrades may ask: When will you stop flattering? As for that, probably one has to do it all one's life. Maybe when democracy and the legal system become sound, one will take a beating for flattering. By that time one will stop doing it. But who knows whether the time will ever come? With the progress of mankind, flattery has been in existence for thousands of years. It indicates that, as long as there are the soil and environment suitable for its survival, this poison weed despised by everyone will flourish.

Finally, I wish to propose a slogan: Long live flattery! Most likely the comrades will oppose it. If I shout it in front of the Democracy Wall, maybe I will receive a joint beating by everyone. But this is the truth. It is false to say long live you or long live me, but flattery will live forever.

Long live flattery!

Ma Pisai, worker-peasant-soldier student, Flattery Specialization, Political Philosophy Department, China Sociology University

1978.12. [illegible]

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CSO: 4005

## THE SECRET OF MODERN RELIGION

Beijing BEIJING ZHICHUN [BEIJING SPRING] in Chinese No 1, 9 Jan 79  
pp 38-41

[Text] For the Chinese, especially the young people, living in the 70's of the 20th century, to say that a sort of "modern religion" once existed in China seems to be rather bewildering. Anyone knows that the socialist China is an atheist state. Modern Thailand takes buddhism as its national religion, the Arabs generally believe in Islamism, and many Western countries remain devout Christians. In modern China, the religions which produced a tremendous influence in history truly do not have much effect any more. However, in the past decade or more, a new kind of religion emerged on the great land of China. It was the "modern religion."

Besides its many similarities with the old religions in history, this new religion also had its new characteristics.

To drug the people groaning in misery, the old religions and theology created many lies. They asked the people to set their sights on the heavenly kingdom, claiming that the earthly life was merely a passing instant, serving only as the transition to the world of yonder shore, and that only life after death was eternal. Precisely as Lenin said: "To those who work all their lives and remain poor all their lives, religion teaches them to be docile and patient in this world and to place their hopes in the bounties of the heavenly kingdom." (Collected

Works of Lenin," vol [illegible] p 62) Modern religion was also thus. To hoodwink the people, it also created many lies. It led the people to fix their eyes on the frightening hell--"capitalist restoration," claiming that large-scale violence, house searches, arrests and imprisonment, illegal punishments and "legitimate" flogging were all necessary, because they would prevent a great calamity --a "restoration" where "tens of millions would lose their lives." Therefore, the people must be patient about all the outrageous acts

of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." All these were like the path leading to paradise, merely postponing the arrival of "the last day of the world" and serving as the golden bridge to the "Pure Land."

Any religion has its own special rites. According to the old religion , the individual was insignificant and sinful. To redeem one's sins and to save one's soul, one must prostrate oneself before the ever incomprehensible deity; one must pray and repent. Only thus would it become possible for one to enjoy the eternal happiness of the coming life. Modern religion was also thus. You wish to build a modern socialist power, to seek [illegible and missing words]. Newspapers, periodicals, broadcasts [illegible]. Do you like those things? Then, it can only indicate the darkness and filth in the depth of your soul! Therefore, arriving in this world, one must, "with reverence and trepidation," seek salvation and, in the depth of one's dirty soul, "explode the revolution," daily "seeking instructions in the morning" and "making reports in the evening." These were the basic rites for the salvation of the soul.

The religion of the Middle Ages was a world of darkness. The pope and the bishops lived in luxury and extravagance, leading a shameless life. They were a group of decadent, evil, and hypocritical individuals. Their occupation was to create disputes, incite hatred, and sink the people into the ocean of blood and tears. To religion, tranquillity and happiness would make the people degenerate, and become indifferent to the church. To carry out the will of the deity, the church wanted the people to quarrel constantly and its disciples to carry on forever their disputes. They also corrected fallacies by means of sacred religious courts, torture by fire, flogging, exile, and imprisonment, so that heresies had no way to spread. For the supreme glory of the deity, they turned the flourishing land into a desolate region by means of all kinds of persecutions and suppressions. Modern religion was also thus. Lin Biao and Jiang Qing were a pair of male and female popes, and those like Ye Qun, Zhang Chunqiao, Huang Jinhai and Chen Ada served as their cardinals and bishops. While not as widespread as the old religion with their monks and priests, and popes and bishops, the chiefs and the members of the factional system of the new religion all lived a decadent and extravagant life, and everyone of them embezzled the assets of society in large quantities by means of the power in their hands. For power, they did not hesitate at inciting large-scale violence time and time again. They carried out illegal investigations and arrests, encouraged betrayal and did their utmost to provoke, alienate, and split.

The old religion provided that the popes, bishops, and priests were only responsible to the almighty deity for their activities, and the

people had no right to inquire. The people were not permitted to express their opinions; the will of the deity was followed for everything. Meanwhile, modern religion provided that those like Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were only responsible to the "revolution" for their activities, and the people, similarly, had no right to inquire. Thus, similar to the old religion using the name of "God," modern religion, under the name of "revolution," legalized Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" temporary dictatorial control. Similar to the "heretic" under the old religion, whoever objected to their ways became a "counterrevolutionary." Similar to the many kinds of persecutions and punishments, only those with heretic thoughts and prejudices found them criminal. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" [illegible and missing words]. As far as the old religion was concerned, in the realm of belief, it was impossible for God's agents on earth to make a mistake. Similarly, as far as modern religion was concerned, anything Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did was proper and unassailable!

The old religion looked upon practice and science with hatred, because practice would expose the absurdity of religion and the theological system, while science would make the laymen conceited, and discourteous and disobedient to their spiritual mentors. As far as the old religion was concerned, only one subject among the sciences was necessary, which was theology, serving as its ideological system. Practice was most abominable and most harmful to theology. Since there were already the ready-made truths from Heaven, why would it be necessary to search for and test truths in practice? To master the science of theology, there was no need to conduct any social practice; one only had to accept the manipulation of others. Meanwhile, modern religion also looked upon practice and science with hatred. Marx and Engels developed socialism from fantasy to science, while Lin Biao and the "gang of four" made an epochal contribution by turning socialism from science to religion. As far as they were concerned, their pockets were filled with truths, and their work was to ponder the eternal truths for others. They, themselves, were the alter egos of truths. Look at Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, the pair of popes: Were they not wearing saintly halos dazzling with truths on their heads? Their words were not merely truths, but also the criteria to test truths. Anything in conformity with their thinking was true; anything running counter to their thinking was false! They were the saviors, the great personages riding high above the people! As for the masses, they were merely the masses, and they only deserved to look up and listen, with their mouths open, to the truths declared by them. Without their help, the people would only find themselves in the darkness of ignorance. Thanks to their concern, when they scattered from the sky a little powder of truth, we avoided all kinds of disasters and gained a tremendous happiness! Thanks to "mass supported"

modern religion, the natural sciences, philosophy, the social sciences, and medicine, the useless sciences in the great land of China, suffered violent devastations, while only their modern theology, the one and only true science, made an unprecedented development!

The similarities between modern and old religions indicated that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" truly deserved to be considered the talented successors to the feudal despotic tradition of the Middle Ages! Not just successors, but they were the developers! They raised ancient feudalism to modern feudalism! [Illegible] modern science! Thanks to Lin Biao and the "gang of four," thanks to their teaching [illegible], we have today recognized the importance of science and democracy in the socialist era!

Let us discard Lin Biao and the "gang of four's" modern religion and the old religion into the trash can of history!

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CSO: 4005

OBSERVE 'PRC REGULATIONS ON ARREST AND DETENTION'

Beijing QIU SHI BAO [SEEK THE TRUTH JOURNAL] in Chinese No 4, 1 Mar 79 p 1

[Text] On 23 February 1979, the sixth conference of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress passed the "Regulations Governing Arrest and Detention of the People's Republic of China." It was a momentous event in the political life of our people.

Since liberations, the various constitutions of our country have all provided that the personal freedom and dwelling of citizens are inviolable, and that no citizen may be arrested without the decision of the people's court or the approval of the people's procuratorate. However, at one time, especially during the rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the civil rights of the inviolability of personal freedom and dwelling provided by the constitution was wantonly trampled underfoot, and China's revolutionary legal system was totally destroyed. A small handful of counterrevolutionary criminals opposed to our revolutionary legal system unscrupulously violated the citizens' civil rights of the inviolability of personal freedom and dwelling. They injured anyone they wished to injure, and arrested anyone they wished to arrest, and ruthlessly trampled on the spirit and body of all the revolutionaries and the broad masses. Many innocent people were persecuted to death, and many who had made contributions to the people suffered intolerable insults to their character. These criminals created an unprecedented great calamity to the nation of China, and the dignity of the Chinese people suffered an injury. They have left an indelible scar on the hearts of our people.

Today, the "Regulations Governing Arrest and Detention of the People's Republic of China" which has been promulgated is most timely. It upholds the constitutional provisions on the inviolability of the citizens' personal freedom and dwelling, the revolutionary legal system, the normal order of society, the socialist democracy, and the

interest of the broad masses. It has dealt a powerful blow on the illegal activities of all the criminal elements, cracked down on the handful of careerists and conspirators in their attempt to suppress the revolutionary movements of the broad masses by means of arrests and detentions, and smashed the criminal conspiracy to sabotage the socialist democracy attempted by the handful of counterrevolutionaries hostile to the revolutionary legal system.

Arrests and detentions directly restrict the citizens' personal freedom. They are not applicable to citizens free from criminal conduct, but only to criminals requiring arrests (or detention as a punishment). Therefore, only the strict observance of the "Regulations Governing Arrest and Detention" will truly produce the effect of hitting and punishing the criminals. If not, it will violate the citizens' fundamental civil rights of personal freedom, etc. Violating the citizens' civil rights is a violation of law, and must be punished according to law. Therefore, only when it comes to "suspects about whom the main facts of the commission of a crime have been ascertained, who may possibly be sentenced to imprisonment or more, and whose arrest is necessary," may the people's court or people's procuratorate decide or approve the arrest. Under an emergency situation when a public security organ must make an advance arrest of "a criminal caught in, before, or immediately after the act, or the suspect of a major crime requiring arrest, such arrest must also be based on absolutely reliable facts. If not, all the responsible personnel concerned of the people's court, people's procuratorate, and public security organ must take their proper responsibilities.

Responsible work personnel of the people's court, people's procuratorate, and public security organ, your responsibilities are extremely great. You must perform your work with a high sense of responsibility. Let us together uphold the revolutionary legal system and wage a firm struggle in accordance with the constitution and the "Regulations Governing Arrest and Detention" against all law violating criminal elements, so that we can defend our socialist system, uphold the normal order of society, and protect the citizens' rights of the inviolability of personal freedom and dwelling, in order to benefit our socialist revolution and construction and consolidate our stable and united, and vivid and lively political situation.

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CSO: 4005

## **RESOLUTELY SAFEGUARD CITIZENS' DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS**

**Beijing QIU SHI BAO [SEEK THE TRUTH JOURNAL] in Chinese No 4, 1 Mar  
79 p 2**

[Text] China's constitution provides for the extensive democratic rights of its citizens, such as, the rights to vote and to be elected; the freedoms of speech, correspondence, publication, meeting, association, marching, demonstration, and strike; the inviolability of personal freedom and dwelling; the right to labor; the right to rest; the right to education; the freedoms of scientific research, literary and artistic creation, and other cultural activities. As our constitution fixes the extensive democratic rights of the citizens in form of law, every citizen in our socialist society may fully exercise and apply the various items of his democratic rights. In the course of such exercise and application, he directly or indirectly contributes his own strength to the socialist revolution and construction of our country.

Safeguarding the democratic rights of the citizens is an extremely important aspect of strengthening the socialist legal system. Any act in violation of the citizens' democratic rights is a subversion of the socialist legal system. To strengthen the socialist legal system, primarily we must firmly and comprehensively safeguard the citizens' democratic rights.

Safeguarding the citizens' democratic rights is the fundamental guarantee for the development of the socialist democracy. If such rights do not receive firm protection, it will be very difficult to develop the socialist democracy. Therefore, to develop the socialist democracy, primarily we must firmly and comprehensively safeguard the citizens' democratic rights.

Safeguarding the citizens' democratic rights is a prerequisite to realizing the socialist modernization construction and completing the

general task of the new era. Only when such rights are protected will the rights of the masses to be masters be protected, their enthusiasm and initiative in the socialist revolution and construction be activated, and the wisdom and talent of each and every individual be brought to full play. Only by mobilizing all active elements, making each and every individual contribute his entire talent and maximum strength, and utilizing the concerted effort of the people of the entire country will it be possible to build China into a modern socialist power within the shortest possible time. To complete the general task of the new era, primarily we must firmly and comprehensively safeguard the citizens' democratic rights.

Since the constitution provides for the extensive democratic rights of the citizens, such rights are safeguarded by law, and they should also be protected by state organs. Any act infringing upon the citizens' democratic rights is a criminal act in violation of law and must be punished by law. The people's court, people's procuratorate, and public security organ must consider the protection of the citizens' democratic rights an important task. Other state organs must also consider it one of their own basic functions. Any act violating the citizens' democratic rights is a manifestation of the subversion of the socialist legal system and socialist democracy, and of the sabotage of the performance of the general task of the socialist new era. Therefore, state organs of all levels and the people of the entire country must wage a firm struggle against all acts and phenomena in violation of the citizens' democratic rights. State organs of all levels must firmly safeguard such rights.

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CSO: 4005

## BEWARE OF GANGS USING SCIENTIFIC MEANS TO COMMIT CRIMES

Beijing QIU SHI SAO [SEEK THE TRUTH JOURNAL] in Chinese No 4, 1 Mar 79 pp 1-2

[Article: "Beware of the Emergence of Conspiratorial Groups Which Use Scientific Equipment to Commit Crimes"]

[Text] The Japanese film "Pursue and Capture" shown some time ago and the recent American film "the World of the Future" are feature films depicting the struggle against conspiratorial gangs pursuing criminal activities with scientific equipment. The method of the gang in "Pursue and Capture" was to make the victims take a kind of tablet, causing them to lose the capacity to control their own actions, and then order them to do anything, such as, working incessantly, cutting their own hand with a knife, jumping off an upper floor, etc. The method of the gang in "the World of the Future" was to duplicate the appearance and mind of their victims in form of robots, kill the victims, send the robots to the posts of the victims, and make them serve their masters. [Many words in this paragraph are blurred.]

Regardless of whether the events in the two films were true or not, hypothetically, if such events do occur one day, how serious will be the outcome! For instance, when a gang, for a certain purpose, needs to silence a witness, it can make the victim take the tablet and then order him to commit suicide by a certain means; it can also commit murder by tricking the victim into taking the tablet and then order him to commit suicide by a certain means. Or, it can make a robot duplicate of the victim, kill the victim, and order the robot to take his place and do whatever it is ordered to do.

Let us make another hypothesis: If scientific instruments which can telemeter and telecontrol others' activities are invented, and if such instruments fall into the hands of criminal gangs, it will bring

inestimable harms and dangers to the human society, because the criminal gangs will be able to torment and harass others to death, or to make others perform criminal acts and other acts favorable to them.

Whether tablets which make the victims lose the ability of self-control, robots which can be manipulated, scientific instruments which can telemeter and telecontrol others, or some other scientific instruments have already been invented, doubtlessly, mankind has reached a crucial stage today. Today, mankind must be extremely vigilant against the emergence of gangs pursuing criminal activities by means of scientific instruments. The legislative, law enforcement, and judicial organs of our country must also give serious attention to this issue, because if such gangs truly emerge one day, it will bring grave dangers and harms to mankind and our people.

Today, mankind must actively adopt measures to prevent the emergence of gangs threatening its security by scientific means. I suggest that the Supreme People's Procuratorate of our country investigate the departments and units concerned and prevent the occurrence of criminal activities by means of scientific instruments. Once such gangs are discovered, they must be firmly punished according to law, in order to safeguard the security of our country and the personal freedom and other civil rights of the citizens.

6080  
CSO: 4005

## LAWYERS ARE NEEDED FOR CRIMINAL AND OTHER LEGAL MATTERS

Beijing QIU SHI BAO [SEEK THE TRUTH JOURNAL] in Chinese No 4, 1 Mar 79 p 2]

[Article: "We Need Lawyers"]

[Text] The constitution provides: "The accused has the right to defense." Why does the accused have the right to defense? I personally feel that it is because the accused may not necessarily be guilty. For a complete investigation and clarification of the case in order to determine whether the accused is guilty, of what crime is he guilty of, and the seriousness of the crime, the accused needs the right to defense.

The main function of the lawyer is, before the final judgment of the court, to defend the accused in open court according to the constitution and the law, and the facts. According to the constitutional provisions, I feel that the accused may exercise the right to defense on his own behalf, or he may entrust a lawyer to do so. As ordinary people do not have much legal knowledge, while lawyers are familiar with the law, it is necessary for an accused to entrust a lawyer to defend him in open court. There are also cases which are unjust, false, or erroneous, and they are difficult to solve at the trial or appeal; therefore, the service of a lawyer is also required.

In addition, cases involving organs, enterprises, organizations, and foreign affairs or nationals all require the services of lawyers, such as, signing contracts, settling reimbursements, handling litigations, etc. In sum, all matters concerning law require the aid of lawyers.

The work of the lawyer will help protect the legitimate rights and interests of citizens, organs, enterprises, and organizations, reinforce the revolutionary legal system, develop the socialist democracy, avoid the occurrence of unjust, false, and erroneous cases, de-

fend the interest of our country abroad and further international intercourse, and promote the socialist modernization of our country. Therefore, today, not only we need lawyers, but we need many lawyers. According to the constitutional provisions, I personally feel that it is legitimate for individuals to work as lawyers or part-time lawyers. I hope that those with the ability do do legal work voluntarily undertake such work. I propose the creation of a lawyers' association.

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CSO: 4005

ON THE 'CANCELLATIONIST CLIQUE' IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND  
DEMOCRATIZATION MOVEMENT

?Beijing ZHONGGUO RENQUAN [CHINA HUMAN RIGHTS] in Chinese [undated]

[Text] The newly arisen and still on-going human rights movement and democratization movement centered on the Democracy Wall at Sidan Street in Beijing now develops forward with an ever-increasing speed and vehemence as well as an ever-expanding scale. Existing along with this main current, however, is also found an adverse current which has worked its way into the human rights movement and democratization movement. If some name is to be given to this adverse current, then, calling it the "Cancellationist Clique" in the human rights movement and democratization movement cannot be more appropriate. Looking at the prevailing situation, this adverse current appears to possess the following characteristics:

1. They muddle-headedly or even pretentiously declare that "human rights" constitute but an imaginary concept of the bourgeoisie and, therefore, they are basically opposed to any human rights movement. The only thing they still fall short of is to start an anti-democratization movement on the pretext that "democracy," too, is but a fig-leaf of the bourgeoisie.
2. Among them there are also those who are capable of shouting at the top of their lungs and in words seemingly of the most radical and progressive kind slogans in favor of human rights and thereby working their way into the core structures of the human rights organizations. But before long their fox-tails become unfortunately visible to all, and it turns out that what they struggle for is not human rights of the masses of the people but the official rights of individuals. Taking advantage of the goodness and the humility of the genuine participants in the human rights movement, they are found to be doing their best in setting themselves up as individual centers and thereby going all out and stretching their tentacles wherever they can grab power so as to effect a rule of the head-of-the-family system, to play tricks on the followers of the movement and easily resort to punishing or scolding them, whereas toward [two characters illegible] personnel who are really struggling hard for human rights, they are seen to be doubly discriminatory against them or even in regular attempts to prevent contacts between members of the [Human Rights] League and those personnel representing them in appeal visits to superior government agencies.

with such attempts made, furthermore, in the name of the organization without its knowledge. These "officials out-of-power" are seen to exhibit an ever more fierce attitude toward such representative personnel on their appeal visits to those agencies than some of the "officials in-power" for fear that these personnel might ruin their chances of promotion along that route.

3. They day in and day out cry for the establishment of a "Citizens Council" and demand that citizens be given the freedom of access to those agencies [on the occasions of such appeal visits] as on-lookers. But, when they preside over core meetings in the human rights organization itself they strike up a posture as if they are people of very special importance, and hence they strictly forbid ordinary personnel from having any access there as on-lookers.

4. On the pretext of armed conflict along the Sino-Vietnamese borders, they demand a stoppage of the present human rights movement centered at the Democracy Wall, and thereby preposterously put national movement in opposition to democratization movement and become completely the echoers of the bureaucratists and the bourgeois diehards.

5. "We must do things in a legitimate way," "Don't offend the authorities," have increasingly become the chant of this "Cancellationist Clique." But they never mention how "We must do things in accordance with the will of the people" or "Let us not drift toward a semi-official stance or a stance not at all different from that of the officials." According to such a logic on their part, people-produced publications and the people's social organizations should have been cancelled long ago or should have been prohibited to begin with.

6. They look upon themselves as the world's saviors or founders of the democratization movement or people in a privileged position, saying that if anything should happen, all people's organizations should go all out to rescue them. But in handling the Fu Yuehua case, they attach no importance and avoid it altogether.

7. They deny that the bureaucratist, privilege-claiming diehards constitute the main obstacle in the way of the Chinese society's development forward, or they fundamentally deny that such diehards exist at all.

8. They are unwilling to offend Soviet social-imperialism which is ruled by bureaucrats and the privileged classes, or they even power it up and call it a "socialist state" and thereby vulgarize socialism.

9. They dare not to criticize the party in power. They turn the Communist Party and its leadership role into a matter of metaphysics without applying dialectical-materialistic and historical analysis to the Communist Party and its leadership role.

10. They dare not follow the practice of seeking truth from facts by citing publicly any historical personality by name in their appraisals, because doing this would be tantamount to offending the authorities and hence to ruining their chances for promotion.

11. They are unwilling to acknowledge that the vast ranks of the workers, peasant service personnel and intellectuals who are least protected in human rights and who are at the same time doing their best to study culture and science are the main forces capable of effecting China's modernization, and that they are also China's very hopes. Because, if they acknowledged this point, it would reduce the privileged position and role of these self-appointed leaders.

12. Before they succeeded in gaining the confidence of the human rights movement and democratization movement and thereby occupying their core structures through deception, they often shouted human rights and democracy slogans louder than anyone else. Once they succeeded in gaining confidence through deception and thereby occupying the core structures, they became eager to please the authorities and to pacify others so as to win their opportunities to become high officials themselves. This is an important law of development on the part of the Cancellationist Clique.

In view of all this, can it not be said that what they have been doing is tantamount to cancelling the human rights movement and democratization movement ideologically, politically and organizationally? Ren Wading, who was recently expelled by the China Human Rights League, was a representative personality of this very Cancellationist Clique. But, the human rights movement and democratization movement which are developing forward in China today cannot be cancelled by anyone. History will prove that that which is cancelled will be only the few scums of society that have tried to struggle for official rights under the banner of struggling for human rights.

All-League Conference of the China Human Rights League  
March 2, 1979

9255  
CSO: 4005

## 'WHAT IS REALLY ALL ABOUT THE 'FU YUEHUA CASE'?

?Beijing ZHONGGUO RENQUAN [CHINA HUMAN RIGHTS] in Chinese [undated]

[Text] Everyone knows that female citizen Fu Yuehua, who lives on Niu Street in the Xuanwu District, was taken away from her home by the government's Public Security organ on 18 January this year. She is still imprisoned today, but, as to what crime Fu Yuehua has really committed, what is her condition today, who should have the legal responsibility for her following this road of possible crime, perhaps nobody has ever considered or tried to find out. Here, let us carry out some practical analysis and see what might have been the reason for Fu Yuehua's arrest.

### I. Has Fu Yuehua Really Committed a Crime?

Everybody understands that, if a citizen has committed a crime, he must be arrested and detained according to the Regulations Concerning Arrest and Detention passed by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and promulgated by the Public Security Ministry. Otherwise, "a citizen's personal freedom and residence are inviolable."

It is clearly prescribed in Article V of the state's Regulations Concerning Arrest and Detention: "When a Public Security organ proceeds to arrest a potential criminal, it must have in its possession a warrant for arrest and also announce to him [as to why he is being subject to arrest]. After his arrest, except under conditions where investigation is to be hampered or notification proves impossible, the Public Security organ itself, the People's Procuratorate or the People's Court involved shall within 24 hours notify the relatives of the arrested person the reason for his arrest and the place of his detention.

On 18 January this year, when the Public Security organ arrested Fu Yuehua, no warrant for her arrest or detention was shown. This, too, was known to everyone and the Public Security organ also acknowledged this fact. From the angle of the law, this served to deny that Fu Yuehua was arrested and at the same time confirm that Fu Yuehua did not commit "a crime punishable by imprisonment or a heavier penalty."

Some people are liable to say: "Fu Yuehua was not arrested but detained for investigation." But, in reality, this reason cannot stand.

Article VIII of the Regulations Concerning Arrest and Detention prescribes that in the case of potential criminals detained by a Public Security organ who [according to law] should be arrested, facts concerning the detainee's infringement upon the law and attendant proofs or data shall within 3 days of detention be given in a notification to the People's Procuratorate at the given level. Under exceptional circumstances, such detention may be extended for another 4 days. The People's Procuratorate, upon receiving such notification, shall within 3 days approve or disapprove the arrest thus proposed.

We can see from the above article and its various sections that within 10 days at most of his detention, a detainee should receive his notification as to whether or not he is to be arrested; and if he is arrested, then his family should be able to receive the notification within 24 hours. Otherwise, he should "be released forthwith."

It has been more than 40 days since Fu Yuehua was taken away from her home. But Fu Yuehua's family has not received any notification. This means that Fu Yuehua has never been arrested, nor detained. The fact that she has been, nonetheless, put in prison indicates that her imprisonment is imprisonment of a form different from what is included in the prescriptions of the regulations in question.

In the past, Public Security organs were used to trot out incriminating designations such as "detained for investigation" and "taken in for investigation" so as to put certain people in prison. In reality, this was tantamount to stealing Qin Kuai's practice of fabricating "No Incriminating Designation Is Needed" as such a designation so as to put people in jeopardy. If, simply because there seems to be certain suspicion about a certain person, and then, in the absence first of all of any investigation, and secondly of any examination, and thirdly of any proof, that person is thereby directly put in prison, it would mean that any citizen is liable to be put under such suspicion and, because of that suspicion, to be put in prison. If this is the case, then, what meaning of substance could still remain in the Regulations Concerning Arrest and Detention thus prescribed? What citizen's rights and personal security could there still be in our country?

True, according to the people of certain units, "Fu Yuehua has climbed over the wall to enter a certain foreign embassy," or that she "has had sexual relations with foreigners," and we, therefore, cannot exclude the possibility that she may have committed such transgressions. But, if we are going to say that she has actually committed such transgressions, then there must be indisputable proofs to verify them, and even proofs obtained through secret listening or through photography should do. If these transgressions are thus proved to be true, then she should be immediately arrested and put to public trial in the interest of the law. But, even to this day, as Fu Yuehua's family publicly vouches for her that she could

not have committed those transgressions, the Public Security organ involved, insofar as we know, has still failed to present any powerful proof to indicate otherwise. This means that the above-quoted way of conveying the matter has remained but a rumor or can be said to be simply a slander. Relying merely on things like these can hardly produce the conditions necessary for arrest and detention.

Some people may possibly say this, that we have not necessarily arrested or detained Fu Yuehua, but we have only tried to carry out Article XIV of the Regulations in taking her in and thereby investigating her.

Article XIV of the country's Regulations Concerning Arrest and Detention prescribes that the administrative penalty carried out in the form of detention by a Public Security organ in respect to a violation of the regulations of public security control is not an application of the prescriptions of the present regulations.

This is a special article, whose prescription suggests that, even though a citizen has not committed any crime, so long as he violates the regulations of public security control, he is also liable to be given an administrative penalty in the form of detention. But in what way may a citizen be considered as having not violated those regulations? In other words, on the basis of this article, it is possible to have an otherwise innocent citizen imprisoned for long periods of time.

But, can Fu Yuehua's long-term detention be [passage illegible] on the basis of this article alone? It most certainly cannot!

Although the article explicitly prescribes the possibility of an "administrative detention," but we should see that this prescription, in principle, excludes the fact that the citizen has committed any kind of crime. This is to say, the citizen, under such circumstances, remains in the condition of an "internal contradiction among the people" and his case has not escalated to become a "contradiction between the enemy and ourselves." And according to the policy of the party, only methods of "education and persuasion" should be adopted to "treat this type of contradictions" and not "the iron hand of the proletariat."

As far as we know, Fu Yuehua is at present detained at No 2 Branch (1, Gongdelin) of the Reception Depot of the Public Security Bureau of Beijing Municipality. In this honorary Reception Depot, she has been subject to both the soft and hard kind of forcible interrogation for a confession. At one time, she was beaten all over with bodily wounds and had to be carried back to the depot on a stretcher. How are we going to explain such a happening? Can this still be merely called a "reception" or an administrative punishment in the form of detention? If no, then what kind of treatment would a real potential criminal who is detained after arrest receive? Detention effected as an administrative punishment requiring the use of a penalty of the kind administered by a dictatorship: how are we going to understand this question?

On the other hand, how did Fu Yuehua actually violate which article of the regulations of public security control so that she became such a detainee?

As far as we know, except that Fu Yuehua has participated in a number of appeal visits to agencies at the superior levels, has engaged in activities centered at the Sidan Democracy Wall, has written some wall posters, has joined the January 8th demonstration against hunger, against persecution, and for human rights, she has not done any other illegal thing--could this fact have been responsible for her detention?

If this fact alone was really responsible, then it is understandable because a certain potentate of Beijing has said: The Sidan Democracy Wall mars the appearance of the city and hampers public health, and demonstration harms stability and unity, therefore to detain a Fu Yuehua becomes "forthright in name and justifiable in words." Not only so, it might not be a bad idea even to detain all those who have participated in the democratization activities at Sidan or throughout the country. But, we must point out, this so-called "forthright in name and justifiable in words" should have been a "forthright in name and justifiable in words" in the absence of the Constitution and relevant articles of the law! When such action is carried out, there should have been explanation. That is to say, it is necessary first to deny the existing Constitution and the spirit of Vice Premier Deng's talk on "no prohibition" in such cases. Otherwise, neither the name can be forthright, nor the words justifiable.

It can be seen from the above that the reason Fu Yuehua was taken in was not because Fu Yuehua had really committed any unforgivable crime, and the various rumors passed around were only designed to create a false image of criminal behavior based on "No Incriminating Designation Is Needed" and hence to provide a pretext for one's own illegal kidnapping. But we should point out: whatever pretext may have been found, such behavior cannot but be against the spirit of the country's Constitution and articles of current law, cannot but be a case of going back on one's own words, and cannot but be a case of law administrators turned into law violators themselves. Therefore, there must be a conclusion about Fu Yuehua--either arrest or release. Otherwise, where is our Constitution? Where is our law? Where are our democracy and personal security?

## II. Who Should Have the Legal Responsibility for Fu Yuehua's 'Crime'?

Today, Fu Yuehua has been detained by the Public Security organ and her case has been turned into one of "crime" on the basis of "No Incriminating Designation Is Needed." But who should have the legal responsibility in this regard? Perhaps nobody has bothered to look into this matter. Here, let us explore and discuss it a little.

Like all other young people of the country, Fu Yuehua at first was a rather simplistic youth. But, after she participated in practical work, it is said that a certain leader took advantage of her simplicity and innocence

and proceeded to abuse her and get her in trouble. This made it necessary for her to make appeal visits and pertinent accusations so as to rectify the wrongs administered to her. Rationally speaking, the party, government and institutions concerned should have investigated and adjudicated her case so as to let her participate in her work with a peace of mind, and to let her enjoy a stable livelihood without having to drift from place to place. But objective facts were contrary to such an expectation. For 9 years, the institutions concerned continued to pass the buck from one to another, resulting in all the pains to Fu Yuehua's body and mind.

Was it that Fu Yuehua had failed to send her reports above? Is it that Fu Yuehua's case should not be solved? No. During those several years in which she made her appeal visits to agencies at the superior levels, Fu Yuehua submitted a large number [ ] letters and communications to concerned organs of the party and government in order to reflect her own conditions and to secure relevant solutions. But her wish was not to be granted. In 1977, under the pressure of her living conditions Fu Yuehua knelt before the gate of the Revolutionary Committee of her municipality and presented her big-character report for as long as 9 whole days. Leaders of the municipal and district revolutionary committees also held family meetings at her home, promised to solve her problems for her, and comforted her with the suggestion that she should wait with patience. She was asked to straighten out her family affairs and prepare to return to work. But, the words were uttered, the action did not follow. The matter once more dragged for more than a year with no one ever bothering to ask about it or hearing about it again.

We should see here that the fact that Fu Yuehua knelt to submit her big-character report was due first of all to the pressure of her living conditions and secondly to her desire to present to her government a disciplined and sincere plea. It showed that she herself believed in, and wished to rely on, the party and was unwilling to commit any crime and she did so in the best possible gesture under the circumstances. If the concerned organs took advantage of her initiative and guided her accordingly, and fulfilled their own relevant tasks as a result, the outcome would have been completely different. But, on the contrary, the concerned organs relied not on [a few characters illegible] but on machination and manipulation, adopting baseful means of deception, and causing her to sustain still further blows in the mind and spirit.

Past experiences have long ago pointed out that if the matter of Fu Yuehua was solved much earlier, so that she would have continued in her work and that her livelihood would have been given the needed protection, plus the fact that normal political and ideological work could also have been done in her case, then, even given the possibility and opportunity for the commitment of a crime, the situation would not have turned out to be the way it is today. Now that her case has become what it is, who is the one who pushed her onto the road of possible criminal behavior? It is not very easy to see as to who should shoulder the legal responsibility in this regard?

The facts outlined above should be enough to illustrate that the detention of Fu Yuehua was not because she had committed any crime but because some gentlemen who loved feudal despotism to the extreme had chosen to violate the Constitution and violate the law and historical trend and thereby to carry out a case of persecution in the fashion of throwing a rock at someone already fallen in the well. It was also a trial shot at the human rights movement and democratization movement. But we should point out that such a trial shot represents a going back on one's own word, and it should be stopped forthwith. Otherwise, it shall be arraigned before all those who love freedom and democracy dearly and before history itself!

9255

CSO: 4005

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CONCERNED DEPARTMENTS AND UNITS OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY, PROCURATORIAL AND JUDICIAL SECTORS ON THE 'FU YUEHUA CASE'

?Beijing ZHONGGUO RENQUAN [CHINA HUMAN RIGHTS] in Chinese [undated]

[Text] We welcome and support the talk of Chairman of the Committee Ye Jianyin on legal construction in our country when he received the correspondent of the New China News Agency. But we would like to solemnly point out at the same time what the various concerned departments and units have done in handling the Fu Yuehua Incident and how it has long violated the spirit of Chairman of the Committee Ye's talk and how it was a sabotage of the fine situation of stability and unity and a weakening of the nation's defense.

1. If the Public Security departments and units consider it necessary to adopt detention as a measure to cope with certain contingencies sometimes, then, according to the prescription of our current law, the period of detention in such cases is 24 hours and at most must not exceed 72 hours. We think that if the detention of Fu Yuehua is continued, it becomes in reality an illegal act of substituting detention for arrest.

2. If incriminating evidence in Fu Yuehua's case is certain and clear and she must be arrested according to law, then such arrest should be immediately submitted to the people's court or people's procuratorate for approval in accordance with Article 47 of the Constitution and thereafter carried out by the Public Security organ, which, however, should show the warrant for arrest thus obtained. Otherwise, the arrest in this case should be considered a glaring violation of the inviolability of the citizen's personal freedom and residence provided in the same Article 47 of the Constitution, a shameless kidnapping act. It is necessary to solemnly trace and pinpoint the responsibility in respect to the initiator of such serious infringement upon the law.

3. If Fu Yuehua has committed a crime for which proof happens to be certain and clear and she should according to law be arrested, then she should have been interrogated within 24 hours of her detention and the time and place for her trial at a court should likewise be made public in accordance with established legal procedure, so that her crime may be publicly announced and she should also be given the right to defend herself as the person undergoing such interrogation.

We think that "to improve our legal system" is not a single act but a process of historical development. Just as Chairman of the Committee Ye has said, the purpose of improving our legal system is to have the law to follow, to follow the law wherever it exists, to carry out the law strictly, and to rectify violation of the law wherever it occurs. Such a demand aims not only at the future but it should all the more aim at the present. "To improve" is only something relative. Our present law cannot be said to be absolutely imperfect, nor can it be said to be perfect. From the fact that our present law, which has been approved by the National People's Congress, is not yet repealed by the National People's Congress itself, we can only regard it as continually effective. Thus, in the case of our present law, too, we must follow the law wherever it exists, carry out the law strictly, and rectify violation of the law wherever it occurs. This will be not only a test as to whether or not the various concerned departments and units are sincere and determined in improving our legal system but also a necessary condition for further improving our legal system in the future.

The Fu Yuezhu Incident has exerted a great influence upon the domestic and international public, especially upon Beijing. It is our hope that, as the concerned departments and units proceed to handle this incident, it would really be possible for them to understand and carry out what Chairman of the Committee Ye has said:

--Such law and system must have the characteristics of stability and continuity. They are formulated by the people, and they represent the highest interest of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Everybody must obey them and carry them out.

--They must possess the greatest possible authority. Only in accordance with established legal procedures can they be revised, and they by no means depend on the will of any individual leader.

--Procuratorial organs and courts must be faithful to the interest of the people, faithful to the law and system, and faithful to the factual truths involved. They must maintain due independence.

--There must be a contingent of fearless procurators and judges who are ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their duty, and who can maintain the respectability of the socialist legal system.

--There must be guarantee that, before their own law, everybody among the people is equal to everybody else. No privilege above the law can be granted to any individual.

We think that this is not only needed for the improvement of our legal system but also needed for the maintenance of our stability and unity, for the promotion of the "four modernizations," and for the strengthening

of our unity. The reverse would constitute not only a sabotage of our legal system but also a serious sabotage and interference of our stability and unity, our "four modernizations," and our national defense.

We are closely watching the development of the situation. Respectfully yours,

Legal Study Group, China Human Rights League  
19 February 1979

**Supplement to An Open Letter to the Concerned Departments and Units of the Public Security, Procuratorial and Judicial Sectors on the 'Fu Yuehua Case'**

1. Even on the basis of the explanation given by Minister Zhao Changbi of the Public Security Ministry on 20 February concerning the revision of the "Regulations Concerning Arrest and Detention," the period of detention in question cannot exceed 4 days.
2. From the report of the Joint Investigation Group of the various people's organizations, the Public Security unit itself has suggested that it was a case of "reception for investigation." We do not know whether there is any basis in law for this so-called "reception for investigation?" It is our opinion that, except for the people's representative conference, any government leader, official, individual, institution or organization enjoys no legislative power. A Public Security organ, of course, enjoys no legislative power either. If there happens to be no such prescription as "reception for investigation" in any of the laws approved by the people's representative conference, then it becomes a case of knowing the law and violating the law for any Public Security organ to despatch its personnel to encroach upon Fu Yuehua's residence and deprive her of her personal freedom in the name of "reception for investigation." It is a case of baseful conduct committed by the administrator of the law against the law itself. In such a case, punishment should be administered to those who initiated the affair, so as to insure the result that justice is served and the people are pacified.

Important correction: There is an error in the article "Statement of the China Human Rights League on the Speech of a Certain Responsible Comrade on the Municipal Revolutionary Committee" published in "China Human Rights, No 1: "As for the Yugoslav type of socialism, we appreciate it without reservation" should be changed to "As for the Yugoslav type of socialism, we praise and appreciate it but not without some reservations."

9255  
CSO: 4005

**ARTICLES, TABLE OF CONTENTS OF 'MINZHU YU SHIDAI'**

?Beijing MINZHU YU SHIDAI [DEMOCRACY AND THE TIMES] in Chinese No 1 [undated]

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## Introduction

DEMOCRACY AND THE TIMES is here to meet with everyone today.

For over half of a century, China has passed through democratic revolutionary movements like the "1911 Revolution" and the "May 4th Movement," propelled the historical advancement of our national society, and brought forward our country from a semi-feudal and semi-colonial state to the new era of socialism.

History has been developing. Society has been advancing. Under the new conditions of history, the people demand democracy. Such a demand for building our country on the basis of democracy has already become an irresistible trend. If one does not give full play to democracy, if one does not protect the people's rights, and if one does not seek to build the country on democracy, it would be impossible for him to develop the country into a prosperous and thriving one. As for a citizen, the purpose of demanding for democracy and for rights should be no other than making the whole nation prosperous and thriving. Apart from this, there should be no other meaning.

Socialism is the lower stage of communism. Insofar as the socialist system of our country is concerned, it is a state of people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. But because feudalists and royalists like Kang Sheng, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" staged a restoration of feudal autocracy in our country during the past 20 years, there appeared in a country a situation in which there was no democracy, nor protection of the people's rights, nor even a functioning legal system while conditions of people's democratic dictatorship were supposed to be prevailing. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central headed by Chairman Hua has restored and given full play to the party's fine tradition and working style, proposed anew the slogan of exerting ourselves to carry out the "four modernizations," and shifted the point of emphasis of our party's work to socialist construction. But, looking at our present situation, we see that there are still many things which do not measure up to the requirements of the four modernizations and hence hinder the smooth completion of the four modernizations. These things, therefore, must be swiftly done away with. Today, the cries for the society to catch up with our times, for democracy, and for the carrying out of the "four modernizations" have yielded a crescendo. In order to reflect the hearts and voices of the people, in order to elevate the ideological level of the people, to stimulate society to catch up with our times and accelerate the progress of the four modernizations, we have created this journal.

We shall, together with the people of the whole country, struggle hard and march forward forever for the strengthening, the prosperity and thriving of the Chinese nation.

In DEMOCRACY AND THE TIMES shall be published articles that propagate the new culture, new ideology, the legal system and democracy under socialism. There shall be opened also a section on suggestions in which suggestions and measures designed to study and explore the acceleration of the four modernizations shall be entertained. The forms to be used shall be reviews, contributed articles, novels, poems and ballads, etc.

#### First Discourse on Democracy and National Construction--The Editorial Department of This Journal

Since last year, a nationwide democratization movement symbolized by the Democracy Wall at Sidan Street has vigorously developed and is still going strong. This has been a mass movement unprecedented in the past 20 years and it received the attention and support of the people throughout the country. But, along what kind of road ahead and toward what destination will this movement advance? Here, we would like to initiate some discussion on this very issue.

##### I. Under What Circumstances Has This Democratization Movement Arisen and Developed

In order to make clear the meaning of this democratization movement, it is necessary to clarify the reason and origin of this movement in the first place.

For 20 years political opportunists like Kang Sheng, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," taking advantage of the deep-rooted influence of feudalism in our country as a basis and utilizing errors in theory and misconceptions in practice on the part of certain people inside the party, engaged in opposing the goodwill of certain other people, carrying out relevant plotting and manipulation, and thereby securing, through deception, their high positions. They organized a counterrevolutionary clique, and conducted the histrionics of the restoration of feudalism. They adopted oppressive methods and a policy of fooling the people, resorted unscrupulously to rewarding those who followed their whims and punishing those who ran counter to their wishes, as well as excluding and attacking revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, and initiated large numbers of cases of persecution on words used so as to harass those solicitous and goodhearted people who dared to express opinions different from theirs. They did theyr very best in trying to strangle the newly emergent forces and revolutionary factors in society, to sabotage the development of the productive forces, and thereby caused the outbreak of unprecedented political and economic crises in our country.

Society is bound to develop forward. All those who attempt to maintain and defend their precious thrones are likewise bound to pass into oblivion. In April 1976, a mass movement in defense of Premier Zhou and in opposition to the "gang of four," for democracy and against dictatorship, exploded spontaneously. This movement expressed the hearts and wishes of the

people, demonstrated the power of the people, and pronounced the political death sentence for the little tail attached to the feudal dynasty. It at the same time reflected the historical tide and opened the first page of our country's democratization movement under new conditions.

Giving full play to democracy, protecting the people's power [sic], and seeking to build the country on the basis of democracy constitute this historical tide. It cannot be stopped by anyone. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central has proposed the slogan of inheriting the giving of full play to the party's fine tradition and working style and, on this basis, revised our Constitution, and partly encoded our laws and reformed certain policies. These were all measures designed to realize the good wishes of giving full play to democracy and building the country on the basis of democracy. But, we cannot refrain from pointing out that the social system of our country took shape on social basis of semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism, and that the country had suffered the trials of imperialist aggression and wars for long periods of time; the people's cultural level, therefore, has not been very high, and the fetters imposed upon them by feudalism in ideology and in spirit have not been removed. The uneven degrees of uplift achieved during the early post-liberation period have also dissipated almost to nil under the feudal, autocratic restoration of recent years. On the part of some people, a fear has remained and the impediment of their thinking has thus become even reinforced. But, during this feudal, autocratic restoration, some people forgot their purpose, their responsibilities and their tasks, turning themselves from the people's public servants into the people's masters. They became the beneficiaries of vested interests who thought neither of renovation nor of revolution. At the same time, there emerged also some even more avaricious and worse nouveau riches. In their own hearts, the buds of autocracy became inadvertently nurtured. From their point of view, seeking to practice democracy certainly cannot compare wth the convenience of directly issuing personal orders with which things could be done so much easier, and seeking to renovate things most certainly also afforded no such economy as simply following the established order of things. For this reason, they harbored no thought of renovation and felt no need for democracy; consciously or unconsciously, they became accomplices and respondents of restoration, they became the stumbling blocks in the way of society's forward development. Today, in order to eliminate the remnants of feudalism and autocracy, in order to give full play to democracy, to build the country on democracy, and to accelerate the transformation of the upper structures and propel the development of productive forces, it would not suffice for us to rely simply on what seems to be natural top-to-bottom changes. This is why the people themselves have risen, spontaneously, to initiate a mass movement demanding human rights, demanding democracy and demanding the building of our country on the basis of democracy. It can be said that the emergence of this movement is reflective of the trend of history, of the inevitable law and destination of historical development.

## II. This Democratization Movement as an Indispensable Bedrock for the Development of Productive Forces in Our Society

A movement is bound to solve some problems. But what is the essence of this movement? Is there any necessity for this movement to rise and develop in our country? In order to answer this question, we need first to study a little the modern history of the Chinese society and analyze a little the origins of our present society.

After the Opium War of 1840, the foreign powers continuously committed political oppression, military aggression and economic plunder against our country, and thereby turned our country gradually into a semi-feudal and semi-colonial state. The rulers of the Qing Dynasty at the time buckled under the foreign powers in order to maintain and protect their own rule, but internally, they forcibly practiced tyranny, strangled the renovation and reform movement started by Kang Yuwei and Liang Qicao, and suppressed the Taiping Tianguo and the Boxer movements, causing China to fall still further politically and economically into the trap set by the imperialists. Although, after the Revolution of 1911, bourgeois democratic revolutionaries represented by Dr Sun Yat-sen successfully overthrew the feudal dynasty, they failed to accomplish their goal of "externally driving out the barbarians" so as to enable China to develop forward independently in the various aspects. In addition, there occurred thereafter the wars between the warlords manipulated by the imperialists; these further deprived our country much of its vitality. During this long period, our country lost the opportunity which the Western capitalist countries enjoyed in pursuing industrial revolution and cultural revolution and this resulted in an extension of the gap in the development of productive forces between our country and the Western countries. From this point of view, the success of our country's democratic revolution was incomplete, or it can even be said that it was simply not successful.

Because of the aforesaid reasons, even though our country has already entered the period of socialism we still have on our shoulders during this historical period double revolutionary tasks, namely the double tasks of a capitalist revolution as well as a socialist revolution. The former are aimed mainly at solving the problems of cultural revolution--the uplift of the people's cultural level and ideological civilization with a view toward releasing the people from the fetters of benighted feudalism, and also of industrial revolution--the promotion of the development of productive forces, and the enrichment of society's material resources. The latter tasks are aimed mainly at solving the problems of political revolution--the uplift of man's ideological and political consciousness, and the elimination of the old ideology and concepts of the exploiting classes, and also of social revolution--the reform of the common ills of capitalism with a view toward transforming private possession into an all-people ownership system. Without the results of the former revolutions as a foundation, it is impossible to attempt to carry out the tasks of the latter revolutions, or it can be said that there would be no basis for making such an attempt to begin with.

During the early period of the founding of our state, because of the elimination of the exclusiveness and oppression of foreign industries, a broad prospect and market were opened up for our national industries. This served to uplift the national bourgeoisie's enthusiasm in production and renovation, give a booster shot to our national industries, and lead to a more rapid development of our country's industries. In addition, our land reform was expeditiously accomplished, and this served to mobilize the peasantry's positivism in production. For these reasons, our national economy enjoyed a greater volume of development on the existing basis.

Rapid development of productive forces is bound to trigger a transformation of the upper structures. At that time, our social system was far from perfect. In addition, the rise of a bureaucratic working style inside the party and government and its further development brought considerable difficulties to the productive forces in the process of their own rapid development. If these productive forces were to continue their own development, it would be necessary for them to break through this kind of obstacles. Therefore, there exploded at that time a movement which demanded quick commitment to the transformation of production relations and the building of the country on the basis of democracy. This was originally a good movement, but, because of the errors in theory and misconceptions in cognition on the part of some people inside the party, these people not only failed to guide it as a matter of convenience toward the promotion of the development of productive forces but, on the contrary, adopted a policy of impediment, trotted out oppressive methods, and strangled this movement which had otherwise aimed at democratization. At the Lushan meeting and even during the subsequent Cultural Revolution, people like Kang Sheng, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" further constituted an ideological tight-band curse within and without the party, spreading this impediment policy and these oppressive methods toward all parts of the country, expanding them and deepening them. They made a point, as a matter of fact, to instigate their own restoration of feudalism and autocracy. Precisely because this restoration reinforced the ideological fetters imposed upon the people and trampled the budding sprouts of democracy, it had left a fear in people's minds even up to this day. In the absence of a broad democratization movement today, it is impossible to shatter the ideological fetters still hampering the people. Nor will it be possible to accomplish the double revolutionary tasks during the period of socialism.

From the standpoint of the realm of ideology, because of the fact that our country entered socialism with a tail of feudalism the people's cultural level, therefore, is very low and their ideological consciousness is not very high either. So, there exist in society still many old ideas, old cultures and old concepts. Especially in the vast countryside, there still exist imperial authority, divine authority, clan authority and husband authority marked by such sayings as "When the ruler asks the subject to die, the subject cannot but die; when the father asks the son to die, the son cannot but die." And the people there are also spontaneously creating and fostering every day the successors to these authorities.

This is to say that the foundation of our socialist revolution is still not very strong. This is also the reason why people like Kang Sheng, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were able for long periods of time to prevail and do what they pleased. Therefore, if this problem is not solved quickly, we would not be able to carry out our social revolution very well. Nor will the productive forces be able to develop with exuberance at a high speed. In order to solve this social foundation problem, in turn, practice has proved that to adopt simply political indoctrination and to exert forcible pressure by means of a political movement cannot achieve the results desired. It is necessary to start from reality. Therefore, there is at present a democratization movement being developed for the masses to educate themselves. To let the masses liberate themselves is extremely necessary and also very timely.

In the development of productive forces, history has proved and will continue to prove that, without a society being brought up to date, there can be no modernization of production and construction. Therefore, at a time when we are going all out to carry out the "four modernizations" today, there is necessity for us to develop a democratization movement in order to promote the updating of society and to accelerate the progress of the "four modernizations."

In a word, our times require such a democratization movement. Only after we have carried out this democratization movement well, made up our lesson in democratic revolution, and accomplish the tasks left over by that democratic revolution would we be able to facilitate the prosperity and the thriving of our country. Otherwise, the "four modernizations" would become pictures of cakes for a really hungry stomach and historical tasks of the socialist period, too, cannot be expeditiously accomplished.

### III. What Is the Goal of the Democratization Movement?

We can put it this way: as a Chinese, as long as he acknowledges to be a Chinese whatever he does and engages in must not and should never be detrimental to the interest of the Chinese nation. This should be so at least today. Therefore, the goal of this movement is precisely to enable our country to become rapidly prosperous and thriving in politics, economics, science and technology. Other than this, any motive would be incorrect and erroneous.

We have said above that to carry out this movement is actually to make up our lesson in democratic revolution. But we must see that the wheels of history cannot be reversed; we can only carry out this movement from the standpoint of today and must not attempt to do so on the basis of things 60 years ago. Otherwise, anyone making such an attempt can hardly be said to be a materialistic realist. Therefore, we must combine this movement organically with the four modernizations, and thereby achieve simultaneously the two revolutionary tasks which are both heavy and extensive. We must, that is to say, simultaneously accomplish the cause of the four modernizations at a high speed while promoting the transformation of the upper

structure. Otherwise, either we would expand the gap in the development of productive forces between our country and the Western capitalist countries and thereby have the essential meaning of this movement lost to us, or we would face the case of "over-eagerness making the goal unattainable," finding it impossible to accomplish the magnificent objective of the four modernizations well.

Because bringing society up to date constitutes the foundation of the modernization of production and construction, we must in our democratization movement today therefore try to find a good solution to the problem of bringing society up to date in the first place. In our country there exist still many bad phenomena which ought not to have existed to begin with. So-called bringing society up to date means verily to eliminate these things. Therefore, we must completely and fairly analyze the social conditions in our country at the present and provide them with a scientific summation. We must analyze them one by one, know them well, and think of the approaches for solving these principal contradictions so as to eliminate them from our society.

As a first step, we must oppose those who believe in imperial power and the so-called will of the superiors which deny democracy and exclude the building of our country on the basis of democracy but accommodate the leadership of one man. We must give full play to democracy, protect the people's power [sic], really allow the people to be the masters and seek to build the country on democracy. At the same time, we also oppose the erroneous behavior of anarchy and extremist kind of democratization that allow the incorrect use of one's democratic rights.

Comrades, let us join our hands together and carry the attack forward for the purpose of really building our country into a state of people's democratic dictatorship and enabling it to prosper and thrive!

March 1979

Dear Readers:

Because our competence is limited and also because of the circumscribed state of our cognition, there are bound to be not a few errors in our editing and writing processes. We respectfully invite comrades to favor us with their criticisms and their rectification.

#### Brief Editorial

The Medicine of 'Importing Technology' Cannot Cure the Illness of 'Ideological Impediment'

--This journal's commentator

From some people's point of view, the fundamental reason for the slowness of the development of our country's productive forces is scientific and technological backwardness. Certain equipment, for example, is very old. So long as we dare to import foreign capital and the advanced technology and equipment from outside sources, all our difficulties will be solved

as a result, and the objective of our four modernizations will be realized also very quickly and New China will accordingly be able to prosper and thrive. In reality, this is not necessarily the whole story. The realization of all good wishes absolutely does not depend just on how good such wishes are: it depends, rather, on how such good wishes are in accord with objective, actual conditions.

We do not deny that our country at the present suffers scientific and technological backwardness in many aspects and has old equipment, and it is necessary for us to break and get rid of the parochial concept of closed-door conservatism, and to open up toward the outside world, import necessary foreign advanced technology and equipment, so as to promote the cause of our construction. But if we single-mindedly think that, by doing this, it would become possible for us to solve our problems once and for all, this would then be hardly permissible. The upshot, in such a case, would as a matter of fact, inevitably be that we are going to be dragged down by the fast revolving wheels of history.

Our country is one of the world's oldest nations in possession of an ancient civilization and an industrious and intelligent people. In the several thousand years of the past, the development of our country's scientific and technological enterprises was not necessarily all very slow. In many aspects, it was in an advanced position in the world. According to historical records, our country's "four great inventions"--Zhang Heng's seismograph, Hua To's ulcerous-lung potion, Zu Chongzhi's circumference ratio and silk technology--are all the world's earliest inventions, and they are, compared to the inventions of other countries, a few decades or even more than a hundred years earlier. Similar things in the possession of foreign countries have usually been developed on the basis of communication with our country. Why has such an ancient country with the world's earliest inventions not been able even to catch up with the lately arisen countries of the West in modern times? The fundamental reason is that the production relations in society have prevented the development of productive forces and hampered the development of scientific and technological enterprises.

Anyone even just slightly informed of history would know that, in the prolonged period of feudal society in our country, peasant uprisings led to dynastic changes, with one regime time and again replacing another. But, this formula of "Han following the system of Qin" made it altogether impossible for the country to go beyond the circle of feudalism. Nor was it possible at the same time for the country to promote the development of productive forces on a large scale. But, at the time when each regime first replaced another, the rulers, in order to mollify social contradictions drastically in conflict with each other, to nurture the wounds of war, and to consolidate the political power already secured, almost invariably adopted certain enlightened and liberal policies and strategies. These gave the people a definite chance to recuperate. And it was during such years that the productive forces in society gained

development and that the possibility existed also for scientific and technological enterprises to rise and develop.

The development of productive forces inevitably demands that change should also take place in production relations so as to adapt to its own trend. But this, alas, happens to get in the way of the rulers' interests. In order to protect their own power and interests, they thus invariably adopt a policy of impediment. Either it was a policy to "burn the books and bury the scholars" or it was a policy to "send the offenders to the army or exile them." Or otherwise inventions were nationalized to become properties of the state and deposited in the national treasury. Little or no chance was given for them to develop further. Many inventions and creations thus became interrupted or lost their successors. Because of this, even though China has many early inventions, they at most remained inventions and could not develop.

After the rise of capitalist industrial revolution in the West, foreign goods continuously flowed into our country. They had a tremendous impact on this ancient nation of ours, and such a situation forced the productive forces in China to seek faster development so as to increase their competitive capability. In so doing, they also required changes in the upper structures of our country. This was why there exploded the well known Reform Movement headed by Kang Yuwei and Liang Qichao. But the feudal rulers were afraid that this would damage their respectability and their interests, they thus similarly adopted the policy of impediment to strangle the movement. In addition, the imperialists, in order to effect a long-range monopoly of our market and realize the goal of plundering our cheap resources, would also not, on their part, allow such action of renovation to unfold in our country. They behaved this way even till the later period of democratic revolution. Therefore, it was impossible for the productive forces in our society to develop very fast.

Generally speaking, the situation should have definitely turned for the better after our country had entered the period of socialism. At first, there was also such an actual turn for the better. But, in whatever period, the fast and vehement development of productive forces is bound to promote change in the upper structures; this was inevitable also during the socialist period. But after this situation came to pass, certain people inside the party, because of their errors in theory and misconceptions in cognition, still followed the steps of the earlier rulers and adopted a policy of impediment. Especially after Lin Biao and the "gang of four" gained power, they adopted actions of suppression which were even more startling than those of earlier rulers. They imposed a label of "reaction" on all those who had achieved some results in research so as to put them down. They even uttered the nonsense that "China needs laborers without culture." They strangled China's newly emergent forces and revolutionary factors, and caused our country's scientific research enterprises to stay in a stagnant situation and social production to fall in a state of retrogression. They extended the already reduced gap between China and foreign

countries anew, and hence led to the emergence of the present situation, a situation full of wounds and flaws.

To sum up what we have said above, it is not that the people of our country are not intelligent, but that they have been suffering a serious illness of ideological impediment. This is precisely the pathological origin and pathological root of our country's economic backwardness. If we do not cure this illness, it would be impossible for the productive forces of our society to gain faster development.

Now, the whole nation's emphasis on work has shifted to the side of socialist construction, and the whole party as well as the whole nation are engaged in realizing the four modernizations. But we should see that feudal fetters have not yet been entirely smashed, and that the people still have some remnants of fear in their hearts. The root of illness pertaining to ideological impediment is not yet eliminated. Obstacles in the way of the realization of the four modernizations are still quite strong. If we only take the medicine of "importing technology," it would be impossible for us to cure our illness of ideological impediment. And if we do not cure this illness, it is hard to avoid that someday this illness will again develop and spread, paralyze ourselves and turn ourselves again into the "Sick Man of the East."

March 1979

#### Just a Few Words:

#### We Must Part Reluctantly With Beloved Objects

A person who likes to eat gazed at the watermelon in his embrace while walking toward the working field. He is very clear in his mind: the watermelon is very sweet; if he gives a piece to someone else, there would be one piece less for himself. The more he gives to others, the less will be left over to himself. He really feels unwilling to give any to others. But he also realizes that today conditions are different. If he loves the watermelon so much that he feels reluctant to give up any part of it, then he would hurt the feelings of his relatives, and in turn his own crops would get hurt. He is really facing a dilemma!

All those whose appetite for power happens to be big are like this avaricious person and are at all times thinking about how to preserve their interests already on hand. They never think of wanting any democracy, nor do they really wish to see the people becoming masters of the country. They know that if democracy is put into practice, it would be no longer possible for them simply to make their own words count. If the people really enjoy the power of masters, then there would always be the possibility that he will be removed and replaced because of ineptitude. How uncomfortable would that ever be! But, we must remind him, if he is really interested in following the historical tide and carrying out the four-modernizations program of construction, it simply would not do if he does not at the same

time practice true democracy. Otherwise, the four modernizations cannot be smoothly carried out, and in the end he himself must also be punished by history.

--Xinsheng

**Effective Measures Should Be Adopted To Solve Problems Gradually  
--Let's Talk About Crowding in the Buses**

--Wang Fanfu

Every morning and every afternoon, it is always very crowded in the buses. It makes it impossible for people even to breathe! Probably because this is such a routine occurrence that we see no one ready to adopt any effective measure to solve it.

There are only so many causes for the crowding in the buses. One, there are too many people. Two, there are too few buses. Three, the streets are too narrow, and this makes it impossible to have the human stream dispersed quickly. Therefore, as soon as we mention this problem, some are bound to say: In order to solve this problem, one, expand the streets; two, increase the number of buses, and develop new routes. But, at present our country is still very poor and without such vast capability to effect a quick solution. After the four modernizations are accomplished, the situation is bound to be better. These utterances are of course quite reasonable, but they may be somewhat partial.

We recognize, indeed, that many streets in Beijing are narrow and not suitable to the dispersing of crowds. It will not be easy to have such a problem solved, really. If we were going to dismantle some of the houses on these streets and, necessarily, build them somewhere else and also attempt to widen the street roads, this would, first, take money and, second, require time. Under today's circumstances, we still do not have such surplus energy to solve it in this way. If we were to increase the number of buses in service, we must, apart from considering the capability of our factories to manufacture them, again get ourselves involved in the question of the streets. Besides, crowding, at the present, generally takes place still only during the peak hours when people go to, and from, their places of work; aside from these hours, it still does not seem so bad, perhaps. Hence, if we only ask that "Everybody tries to overcome the problem a little," "Let an individual situation submit to the requirements of the collective situation," and "Consider that our country is still very poor," then, we would end up saying that the situation will surely be better when the four modernizations are realized. This, then, would become a convenient pretext, and no timely solution would be provided.

It is my opinion that what is said above constitutes, of course, a practical problem, but it has not grasped the crucial point. The key to the problem is that those who have to ride in the buses are far too many.

In Beijing, there are too many people working outside of their own, and hence in each other's, residential areas, and too few working right nearby their homes. People living in the eastern and western side of the city respectively are often found to be working, respectively, in the western and eastern side of the city, instead. In some cases, they have to go even further. This way, it becomes only natural that there should be crowding at the time when they go to, and from, their places of work. If everybody works nearby his residence, nobody would want to crowd himself into the bus and sweat it out there.

Because people's places of work are situated too far from their homes, and because going to, and from, those places becomes inconvenient, there is a great deal of energy and time wasted and the masses, too, become eager and anxious and wish to solve this problem. But it is very hard for people to get transferred from one place to another place of work, and it is even harder for them to change their houses. Today, it is hard even for someone to change from one district to another within the same vocational system, not to mention such a transfer between different systems. If this makes corresponding transfers for a pair of workers hard, one-way transfer for an individual worker naturally becomes still harder. Who would have such time to try to find people to coordinate their transfers?

Ordinarily, if the institutions involved take the initiative to solve this problem, then they would neither need special money from the state nor fail to mollify many of the problems that require urgent solutions. The difficulties faced by the masses would then be solved, and they would also have the peace of mind to pursue their productive work. This assures benefits on both sides. But, for many years, there just have been no such institutions adopting such effective measures so as to solve such problems gradually. Must we really wait until the four modernizations are realized before we can attempt to solve them? If and when problems are piled up, solutions would by no means become any easier. Realization of the four modernizations by then might not prove to be the panacea either. It is necessary to get started right now by having relevant institutions established, effective measures adopted, so as to solve the problems that will need solutions sooner or later. If we try to avoid them or to face difficult reality simply by saying sothing words, then even the four modernizations themselves might become cakes seen only in the mirror.

#### Dedicated to You

You are the brave warrior of the Chinese nation,  
With a breast of hot blood.  
Treading the bloody path of "May 4th."  
You are the cream of the crop of the Chinese nation,  
Never hesitant in your steps, always dauntlessly advancing.  
For the sake of the prosperity of the Chinese nation,  
In the interest of the 900 million people,  
(We see you) follow  
And spreading the blood of your heart all over the sacred land.

--Lu Liang, March 1979

### Announcement

In order to manage our journal well and to promote the healthy development of the democratization movement, this Editorial Department hereby invites contributions from the vast reading public. Your support and assistance will be highly appreciated.

### It Is Necessary To Seriously Cure 'Back Pains'

--Jin Cheng

Once upon a time there was a heavily-built man. He was very healthy, industrious and courageous, simplistic and honest. He was well respected.

It is a pity, however, that he later developed back illness and began to suffer back pains day in and day out, which made it impossible for him even to stand up straight. Because of his back illness, his cerebral nerves also failed to have the capability to control his own organs and activities. From then on, his body became gradually thin and exhausted and once and for all deprived of its original strength.

One day, he was trying to make some distance along the road despite his hunchback. He was very anxious to make it within the shortest possible time. But, no matter how hard he tried, his steps could not be very big, nor very fast. He saw many people behind him overtaking him one by one and leaving him further and further behind instead; he became very worried. He began to blame his feet for not doing their best and adopted measures such as changing a pair of shoes or having his feet manicured a little in hope of accelerating his steps. But there was to be no coordinated effect between his thinking and his steps. He was really worried to no end. At one point, he thought of asking someone to pull him a little; but what good could a pull or two do for him in the long run?

The root of his trouble was his back illness. If he cured that, there would be no question that he could accordingly readjust his nervous system, clarify his thinking, pull up his chest, invigorate his steps and walk briskly to his destination.

Today's China happens to be just such a heavily-built man with an uncured back illness.

Germs of the feudal times are deeply embedded inside China's body and flesh. Before liberation, the illness almost killed China. After New China was born, the back illness received some treatment, but it was not entirely cured. Kang Sheng, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" are precisely the vicious gods who provided the hotbed for the germs rekindling the illness. They organized their clique and partisans to ride above the discipline of the party and the law of the state. They resorted to intimidating others in order to assure following, interfering with the functioning of the

state's central nervous system, and sabotaging the various healthy organizations and institutions. They planted and fostered their partisans in the various institutions, especially strategic departments and units, recruited followers and cronies, and thereby connived with one group while attacking another. They passed their poisonous dye onto other still healthy institutions. They instigated the contaminated institutions to indulge in metaphysics, to deceive those above and oppress those below so as to impede the operations of those inbetween, making it impossible for those above and those below to communicate with each other. Wasn't this precisely what has happened? A report, an investigation, when submitted, became progressively elevated and exaggerated in content one level after another. But only good news was reported, and not a bad situation. This made it impossible for the leading organs to learn about conditions at the basic level, nor to get to know what the masses were thinking about or were asking for. The principles and policies formulated by the levels above, too, became progressively reduced or augmented in content level after level, and when they finally reached the basic level, they were no longer recognizable or had become entirely different things. How, under such circumstances, would it be possible for those above and those below to achieve the needed coordination and uniform thinking and effort? And how would it be possible to have the country well developed?

Now, the "gang of four" has been defeated, and the poisonous germs have been eliminated. But there is still some remnant poison, which, though deterred by the strength of the medicine administered and thus subdued in their activity, can more or less affect the organic body. This has turned into what becomes known as a case of "fever at both ends (but not in the middle)." If this discomfiture is not quickly cured so as to give full play to the function incumbent upon each level of institutions, then it would still be impossible to have the expected goal fulfilled.

The best medicine to cure this illness is no other than putting into practice real and extensive democracy.

#### Political Disease Should Also Be Cured by Applying Chinese Traditional Medicine in Conjunction With Western Medicine

--Jin Cheng

Chinese medicine is an art of healing practiced by our country alone. It mainly stresses treatment of the essential disease and supplements this with attention to its symptoms. In terms of its function in this the emphasis is placed on eliminating the root of the illness, but such an intended effect is usually slow to take place. As for Western medicine, it generally stresses the treatment of symptoms; when there is a headache, then the treatment is administered to the head and when there is a footache, then the treatment is administered to the foot. But the intended effect takes place faster. The two kinds of medicine have their respective assets. In recent years, Chinese medicine and Western medicine have been combined

in the treatment of diseases, and the effect is known to be very good. The Chinese medicine made into Western pills especially earned a good reputation, and this should merit our propagation.

The social foundation of our society is different from that of the West, and our social system is even more different from its Western counterpart. Today, it is entirely necessary for us to import certain essential techniques and equipment in order to develop our country into a prosperous and thriving one and in order to catch up with the West in science, technology and production. But we must take into consideration the actual conditions of our country, seek to treat the symptoms only on the basis of simultaneously seeking to treat the root of illness, so as to follow a path of China's own.

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ON THE EFFECTS AND COUNTEREFFECTS OF HISTORICAL PERSONAGES ON HISTORY

Guiyang QIMENG CONGKAN [ENLIGHTENMENT SERIES] in Chinese No 4, 24 Mar 79

[Text] Preamble

1. Antirightism or Antidemocracy
2. Practice in Establishing People's Communes
3. Big Leap Forward and Big 'Rash Advance'
4. Great Cultural Revolution and Large-Scale Restoration of Feudalism

Conclusion

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On the Effects and Countereffects of Historical Personages on History--Also  
On the "Leftist" Trend of Thought and the "Leftist" Opportunist Line in the  
Party

26 November 1978  
Wu Yang Xiang [7806 5046]

It is the duty of communists not to conceal the weaknesses of their own movement, but to openly criticize them in order to more speedily and thoroughly overcome them. Lenin: "Theses on the Basic Tasks of the Second Congress of Communist International" (July 1920) "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 162.

If a political party dares not truly speak out its own illness or give a strictly accurate diagnosis in order to find the remedy, it deserves no respect from the people. Lenin: "One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward" (February-May 1904) "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 10, p 311.

The attitude of a political party toward its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it in practice fulfills its obligations toward its class and the toiling masses. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it--that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties; that is the way it should educate and train the class and then the masses. Lenin: "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder" (March-April 1920) "Selected Works of Lenin," published in 1965 Vol 4, p 225.

To adopt an honest attitude politically is a sign of strength. To adopt an attitude of deception politically is a sign of weakness. Lenin: "Short Commentaries" (March 1911) "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 17, p 150.

Preamble

A historical personage inevitably exerts a strong influence on his contemporary age. His effects or countereffects on history is decided by whether his social practice has accelerated historical progress and promoted social development, or has obstructed its progress, retarded or even pushed social development backward. In this sense, different types of people have different philosophies, political policies, or lines and achieve different results. A historical personage might have chosen to act that way instead of this way because of general social or personal reasons. His personal trait, integrity, interest, taste, psychological characteristics, cultural upbringing and so forth could not have failed to influence, and sometimes decisively, his action. Different persons may have different views on the same issue and then come to different decisions with different effects. Let us review the sequence of important events or movements since the founding of our country, namely the antirightist struggle, the establishment

of people's communes, the Big Leap Forward, the antirightist movement and then the Great Cultural Revolution. If decisive victories were not won by that opinion instead of this opinion, and by that line instead of this line, it is probable that the present situation of our country would be different. Our assessment of, or judgment on, a historical personage's correctness or incorrectness, and his contributions or faults should be based on the result of what he did, or the result of his social practice. Proceeding from this premise, we have carried out an objective analysis to seek truth from facts and come to these conclusions. 1. Some historical personages were great; 2. Some historical personages were essentially great; 3. Some historical personages have been proved to be great at some stage of social practice, but not great at other stages; and 4. Some historical personages are criminals in history. Historical personages have been confirmed by history to be great because of not only their creativity, but also their ability to understand current social problems, to clearly point out the needs of a new society, and to act according to social demands and popular will. Failing this, he would not have been great, or not entirely great, as history has proved.

A historical personage, no matter how great, is after all a human being, just like everybody, and not a god.

Below, we will analyze and assess the main events and movements, and thereby determine whether a historical personage produced effects or countereffects on social development in certain periods or at certain stages. Our assessment is based on "practice as the sole criterion for testing truth."

#### 1. Is It Antirightism or Antidemocracy?

Many important events or movements have occurred in our country since it was founded. Both "leftism" and rightism objectively existed in all these events or movements. Yet, we invariably stressed the need to oppose rightism, rightist opportunism, rightists or rightist statements, but ignored, or failed to stress, the need to oppose "leftism," "leftist" opportunism, "leftists" or "leftist" statements. Both "leftism" and rightism are harmful to revolutionary interests and the revolutionary cause, but we have only stressed one and neglected the other. This resulted in the prevalence of the "leftist" trend of thought and the development of the "leftist" opportunist line in our party since our country was founded. Thus even correct lines, which corresponded with social developments, were branded as "rightist opportunist lines," to be attacked and strangled by the "leftist" opportunists, and such ideas as "left better than right" and "rather left than right" became popular inside and outside the party and produced such harmful effects that even correct lines and party principles and policies could not be correctly carried out. In fact, the word left used by the "rather leftists" should be in quotation marks. Genuine leftism stands for revolution, correctness and progress, while leftism in quotation marks is the same as, or worse than, rightism and may bring even more serious damages to our party, our state, our people and our cause.

What was the nature of the antirightist movement in 1957? Was it anti-rightism, anti-intellectuals, antipeople or antidemocracy? No matter how people may try to cover the facts, it was antidemocracy instead of anti-rightism. Judging from its essential aspect, or its effects on the society, we can without hesitation call the antirightist struggle a product of the "leftist" trend of thought and a reflection of the "leftist" opportunist line in the party with the spearhead of the struggle directed at the intellectuals.

At the beginning of 1957, our party carried out an open-door rectification and called on people throughout the country to air their views freely. This was a sign of the party's strength and an embodiment of democracy, and was helpful in improving party work and implementing the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." During the movement to air views freely, people raised many questions and revealed many contradictions through big character posters--questions of ideology and understanding as well as political questions and contradictions among the people as well as contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. Yet, most of the questions belonged to the sphere of ideology and consciousness. People generally expressed their views on some party cadres' ideological and work style and opposed subjectivism, bureaucracy and dogmatism, all of which deserved to be in this movement. It cannot be denied that a very small number of people, or just a few individuals, were not helping in the party's rectification but attempting to overthrow the communist party and the socialist system. However, these people were very, very few, and they should be separated from the vast majority. Yet the antirightist struggle began with upholding democracy and ended with suppression, and the open-door rectification was only a prelude to the laying of a trap for the masses. All those who had aired their views were caught in the dragnet, and a new category appeared in our country. In addition to the four categories, "rightists" became the fifth category, and the overwhelming majority of them were intellectuals.

In the struggle against rightism, all people designated as rightists were treated like enemies and the targets of dictatorship. The number of the victims numbered more than 400,000. Were they all enemies? Were all these intellectuals enemies too? Was this antirightism, antipeople or anti-democracy? If we include the dependents of these rightists, (because the dependents were also involved) the number should be far greater and might run into millions according to an estimate. From the standpoint of our party, what trend of thought and what line could be reflected when so many people were placed in opposition to a republican state and became victims of political discrimination and attacks. From the social standpoint, could this be called a socialist system? Did this system essentially embody people's rights as their own masters? Did it mean the loss of their democratic rights so that they had to suffer brutal suppression? Has not the result of the expansion of the antirightist struggle proved that a "leftist" trend of thought and a "leftist" opportunist line existed in our party? Has it not accurately proved that shortcomings and defects existed

in our system and that our system was far from perfection? Today, is it still not time for people to be aware of the dangers of this trend of thought in the same way when we repudiated the dangers of the rightist trend of thought and the rightist opportunist line? Is it not time yet for people to boldly rectify these shortcomings and defects in our social system?

Intellectuals became the targets of the antirightist struggle, and general problems of ideology and understanding were magnified as political problems. This was a big loss to socialist construction, because it severely dampened the intellectuals' enthusiasm to serve socialism and undermined people's, including the intellectuals' belief in the party's high prestige. In other words, they had no more confidence in our party and our government. As everyone knows, intellectuals are the treasure of society. In revolutionary struggles, many fine elements among them were the first to propagate revolutionary ideas. During construction in times of peace, they formed a dynamic force in introducing advanced foreign ideals, science and culture and in promoting social productive forces because of their scientific, technological and cultural background. Why should these intellectuals be treated as antagonists or enemies? Could it be true that all these 400,000 and more intellectuals, designated as rightists, opposed the communist party and socialism? Couldn't we say that the vast majority of them were already part of the proletariat? This persecution could only indicate those dictators' and autocrats' fear of people, particularly those who had ideals and knowledge and were capable of speaking out the truth.

In the antirightist movement, hundreds of thousands of people were tagged as rightists, and most of them wore this tag for over 20 years. What a long oppression and suffering for them mentally and spiritually! Among those designated as rightists, many were backbone elements of our nation and the cream of society. They were quite capable of making outstanding contributions to our country and our nation, and to science, technology, literature and art. However, for more than 20 years, their knowledge was not made use of and they had no opportunity to employ their talents for the cause of socialism. More than 20 years have passed, and their golden age is gone. Even though their designation has been removed, they have either become senile or died.

Many public statements have been criticized and many people victimized since the antirightist struggle. No clear line of demarcation can be drawn between truth and fallacy, between right and wrong, and between the true and the false. First, is the socialist system a perfect one, or are there shortcomings and defects in this system? Does exposing defects mean opposing the socialist system? Secondly, since our country was founded, has democracy existed and developed inside and outside the party? Has power been excessively concentrated in individual dictatorship? Thirdly, do individual party leaders and cadres actually represent the party? Does the voicing of any complaint before ordinary responsible persons or cadres mean opposing the party? Fourthly, what trend of thought and what line was

reflected in the party during the expansion of the antirightist struggle? What was its character? While opposing rightist opportunism, would it be right to oppose "leftist" opportunism?

The movement to air views freely helped develop democracy. Yet, the expansion of the antirightist struggle was an outrage against and suppression of democracy. "Letting a hundred flowers blossom" came to mean letting "one single flower" blossom and "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" meant letting only one school dominate. After all, what one says goes.

The antirightist struggle was a large-scale movement to suppress democracy, and the victims were mainly nonparty intellectuals.

## 2. The Practice of Establishing People's Communes

The "leftist" trend of thought began after the expansion of the anti-rightist movement. Because the experiences of an earlier period had not been summed up, the "leftist" trend of thought continued to develop during the time of people's communes, the Big Leap Forward and the Great Cultural Revolution. At the Lushan Meeting, Peng Dehuai expressed correct views on problems with the communes at an earlier period, and, because of this, he was branded as a rightist opportunist. During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" knew how to accommodate this trend of thought and consequently its malignancy developed until it reached the "pinnacle" in name as well as in fact. Their promotion of this trend of thought from ulterior motives brought untold misery to the people, but they too set themselves against the party and the people until finally they came to a disgraceful end and were spurned by the people.

Now let us look at the people's commune movement as it was in the autumn of 1958 and see whether they appeared in a planned and systematic way, or they came suddenly and without prearrangement, and whether their development corresponded with the current situation or it overstepped the objective limits and went beyond the people's expectations. For the socialist agricultural reform, our party formulated a plan beginning with land reform, to be followed by the formation of mutual aid teams, cooperatives of the elementary and the advanced types, and finally the system of ownership by the whole people. How long would it take to complete the socialist agricultural reform? According to the party's general line for the transition period, this would take 18 years. The cooperative transformation of agriculture was well planned and very systematic. Agricultural cooperatives was an innovation to the countryside which had been for a long time in feudal and backward conditions. It involved a complete overhaul of the system of ownership and a radical change in the tradition form of individual farming. Since we were able to uncover and resolve the contradictions and then sum up our experiences all in good time, our achievements in the initial period of cooperative transformation of agriculture strengthened the peasants' confidence and determination to take the

socialist road. However, according to the then current schedule, no mention whatever was made of the people's communes. Then how did people's communes come into being? In fact, they appeared incidentally, suddenly, and on the spur of the moment. Of course, we cannot deny that people's communes provide a good way for the transition from the system of collective ownership to the system of ownership by the whole people, and a good way to build socialism. However, since they appeared suddenly at a time when the cooperatives were being consolidated, many contradictions inevitably occurred. People's commune is, in fact, the embryo of a communist society calling for the unity of industry, agriculture, commerce, education and the army; the unity of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery; and the unit of government and commune. Under this system, the possession of the means of production, the control of labor production, and the distribution of products are all to be undertaken by the commune. In other words, as far as the relations of production are concerned, this is already a system of ownership by the whole people which is close to that of a communist society. At that time, people sincerely believed that there will soon be a communist society. However, the change in the system of ownership is a long process. It was then the time of socialist construction instead of the time of democratic revolution. The target of the revolution was different and the methods used should also be different. We needed time for studying and probing, and should not act under a single administrative order or by a sudden impulse. The whole process of socialist agricultural reform beginning the forming of small collectives to that of large collectives and then that of communes, must be thoroughly discussed before it could proceed in a planned and systematic way. For instance, at the very onset, the specific question was raised as to which of the three levels--production team, production brigade and commune--should keep the means of production and distribute the products. At that time, conditions were not yet ripe for the commune to solve this problem. Economic development is governed by laws of its own. Since our productive forces were so weak and our mechanization so backward, how could this commune "transform" anything? The commune prematurely abolished the system of ownership by small collectives. Among the production teams and the commune members, the well-to-do and the poor were to be equalized. This was beyond the comprehension of the peasants and the limitation of objective conditions. The communes lacked experience in controlling large-scale agricultural production and consequently production was disrupted. The communes ran communal kitchens and discarded the socialist principles of distribution "to each according to his work" and "he who works more gets more." When productive forces in agriculture were very weak, the practice of the communist principle, "to each according to his need" would be highly impractical. In fact, the communes, having the features of communism in its embryo stage was found to be divorced from realities and had to take some backward steps. Now that people's communes have existed for more than 20 years, the production team still serves as the basic accounting unit. In other words, as far as the system of ownership is concerned, it is still a system of three-level ownership with the production team as the basic unit.

People's communes were set up under inopportune economic and political conditions. Their purpose was to accomplish in 6 months what should take decades. Such impetuosity unavoidably produced adverse effects. According to our hindsight today, they were obviously the outcome of the "leftist" trend of thought which should now be correctly understood and appraised. However, more than 20 years have passed since our country was founded, and our party has only opposed rightism, but not "leftism" and even recklessly criticized the correct opinion--which held that the forming of communes was a rash advance--as "rightist opportunism" and "attacking the three red banners. As proved by practice, was not the establishment of people's communes on the spur of the moment "too early," "bungled" and "petty bourgeois fanaticism?" Is it correct that the voicing of a different personal opinion be treated as rightism? And anyone expressing a different opinion be considered the leader of an erroneous line and be dismissed from office? People generally held that the decision on Comrade Peng Dehuai was not based on facts and showed the lack of democracy within the party. If there is no democracy within the party, how can there be any democracy for the people? The antirightist struggle in 1959 was a movement to suppress democracy in the party. During this movement, unified leadership was replaced by the leadership of "a single person" over the party, and those who had expressed different opinions became victims of the anti-rightist struggle. Today, when we review the history and use practice as the criterion to determine which line in the past was correct and which was incorrect as well as who was right and who was wrong, in order to prevent a repetition of the same mistake in future, we must include the criticism of the "leftist" trend of thought and the "leftist" opportunist line in our agenda. We must fully expose the deceptions and dangers of the "leftist" opportunists who branded the line and opinion--which at least correctly represented the conditions of the state and the will of the people--as rightism or rightist opportunism.

### 3. Big Leap Forward and Big "Rash Advance"

The Big Leap Forward and the people's communes appeared at different periods of the same year. They were manifestations of the "leftist" trend of thought inside our party.

First, we must affirm the progressive spirit, self-respect and self-confidence of our nation manifested in the Big Leap Forward at a time when we were under certain foreign pressure. The Big Leap Forward's purpose was to set up our own independent economic system in a comparatively short time and to strive for two goals: the production of steel and the production of grain.

In 1958 our party formulated the general line of "going all out, aiming high, and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results" and proposed the simultaneous promotion of industry and agriculture, of the central and local industries, of the large, small and medium-size enterprises, of indigenous and foreign methods, and of heavy and light industries. A vigorous mass movement was thus whipped

up, and people were called on to catch up with, and surpass England in 15 years, and to lead John Bull in the production of steel and other main industrial items. Before then, despite the lack of experience in economic construction, development generally corresponded to the laws of economic development. However, since the slogan was "surpassing England and catching up with America," and particularly the slogan of "catching up with and surpassing England in 15 years" were raised during the Big Leap Forward, the objective material foundation and the objective conditions of modern science, technology and production equipment were overlooked, while mass enthusiasm was heavily counted on and "people's subjective initiative" was repeatedly stressed. We were striving for a goal which was vague and divorced from reality, and failed to produce the desired result. In industry, the Big Leap Forward became a big "rash advance" in which whatever was gained could not compensate the loss. For example, if a high-jumper relies only on his enthusiasm to jump over a height beyond what is allowed by his strength, physique and skill, he will not only fail to clear that height but may even suffer injury in the attempt.

The nationwide steel smelting by people in 1958 clearly showed that after 1 year's Forward Leap, the output of steel in our country rose to 10.7 million tons, more than doubling that of 1957, when only 520,000 tons were produced. But this increase was not sustained, because it was only the result of desperate efforts on the part of the whole population working day and night and not the outcome of modern or imported science, technology and equipment. (At that time, although the problem of our relation with the United States had not been solved, England and France had already recognized us and it was entirely possible for us to learn from their advanced methods.) But we indulged in self-exaltation behind closed doors and failed to learn from anybody. Thus we had to suffer a tremendous loss and pay an exorbitant price in view of the great loss, which could not be made up by the gains, and the appalling harassment to the people and waste of wealth. Our gain was far from commensurable with the price we paid.

Socioeconomic development is governed by its special laws. To engage in economic work, we must know something about political economy. If we do not know, we must humbly learn from others, because economic work is different from revolutionary struggles in which any problem can be solved by the "human sea" tactic. Any attempt to change the national economy overnight is simply against economic laws. It is difficult to make a successful start in working for a revolutionary cause, but it is equally difficult to follow up this success, because if this task is not done well, the whole cause may be ruined. Just think and ask ourselves: Can steel smelting by tens of millions of people, a spectacle of "small indigenous mass" undertakings (small blast furnaces built with indigenous methods) "blossoming all over the land," really bring about a leap in the production of steel in a country? The overwhelming majority of these tens of millions of people had no knowledge of science or technology (and some of them had not even received elementary education and did not know how to differentiate

mineral ores from rocks.) Nor had they any comparatively modern production technique of steel smelting. Then how can they be expected to do their jobs? Furthermore, the use of indigenous blast furnaces was the most primitive mode of production. Instead of learning from advanced industrial process, we only relied on a "work or die" spirit in doing a difficult job. How can we possibly attain the desired result? In fact, we wasted a tremendous amount of labor and used huge quantities of timbers as firewood for steel smelting. Yet, the quality of metal produced was so inferior that it did not meet the specifications for steel smelting. This gigantic mass movement of steel-smelting also affected the regular national production of steel by the iron and steel plants, because large amounts of materials urgently needed by those enterprises were diverted to the support of the "mass movement." So these enterprises were unable to fulfill their production plans. In some places, even the scrap metal in people's homes had to be requisitioned in order to fulfill the production quota. This mass movement of steel smelting was a big invention by the "leftist" opportunists, an invention "unparalleled in the history" of world industry.

If economic results are to serve as a yardstick, the gains of the Big Leap Forward could not compensate its losses. This movement indeed demonstrated the mass enthusiasm of a nation for progress. Yet, speaking from the party's standpoint, our method of leadership in economic construction--a method which was beyond the limit of objective conditions--showed the absurdity of the "leftist" trend of thought.

In industry, the Big Leap Forward was reflected by the mass movement of steel smelting; in agriculture, it was symbolized by the popularization of experimental plots. In industry, raging flames from indigenous blast furnaces could be seen everywhere; in agriculture, there were numerous signboards showing the average per-mu yield in terms of tens of thousands of jin. In farming, the laws of agriculture were disregarded and people simply "followed the old beaten track." They needed no scientific knowledge which was scorned as "worshipping and having blind faith in foreign things." Correct opinions were totally rejected because they "poured cold water" on the mass movement and restricted the role of veteran peasants. So agronomists simply had to step aside. Around the open fields everywhere could be seen a forest of signboards with inscriptions of "Youth's Experimental Plot," "CYL Experimental Plot," "'8 March' Experimental Plot" and the expected per-mu yields of tens of thousands of jin. This "wind of exaggeration" assumed disastrous dimensions. Can it be true that experimental plots could produce ten thousand jin or even tens of thousands of jin? What was the total grain production in 1958? In fact, the expected yield of rural production teams were later reported to the authorities as actual yields, because such reports will bring official commendations on the production teams as models in "doing away with blind faith and emancipating the mind." If, on the other hand, the actual outputs were faithfully reported, there would be criticism of their being "conservative and backward" and being unable to do away with blind faith. Speaking the truth would not help the unit to pass the test, so it would be better to lie, and from the whole pack of lies emerged the fictitious "bumper harvest" of 1958.

Because of the "bumper harvest," there came the call for "going all out in production and eating to your heart's content." If people could not eat all their food, they were told to use it to feed pigs. But scarcely a month of "hearty eating" had passed before there came problems. Based on the fictitious reports on production, the government had to collect levies for reserve and export. Because of the big gap between the reported and the actual yields, how could they hand over so much to the state? As a result, some areas had to rely on government subsidy. From "eating to the heart's content," the people came to eat thin watery rice, and finally had to survive on wild herbs. So, from their suffering in silence, we can easily imagine what an ordeal the peasants have been through! No matter how people might talk about the 3 years of natural disaster and the Soviet Union's pressing for the payment of debts as an explanation for the famine, people did not like the methods which run counter to science. Anyone doubting this is cordially invited to visit the countryside where he can listen to the real voice of our farming brothers. When people recalled the "wind of exaggeration" in 1958, they all would say in disgust: "Leftist rash advance!"

#### 4. The Great Cultural Revolution and the Large-Scale Feudal Restoration

Now, let us simply look back at the Great Cultural Revolution. We have proposed that a historical personage be evaluated from the "one dividing into two" viewpoint and that assessment of him should be 70 percent for merits and 30 percent for shortcomings. Furthermore, we have proposed that the Great Cultural Revolution be reassessed. We held that historical personages and historical events should be measured and evaluated with practice as the sole criterion of testing truth, which is a Marxist concept of seeking truth from facts. The role of the historical personage in accelerating the progress of history should undoubtedly be affirmed. It is wrong to ignore or underestimate the merits and the important role of a historical personage. However, it would be equally wrong to exaggerate his historical role and to ignore that of the group of revolutionary leaders. At the same time, a historical personage could have positive effects, and, under certain conditions, also countereffects on history. We can never deify, idolize or sanctify any historical personage and let people worship him. Only those who distort or do not understand Marxism could do this or believe in this. Any person is a human being, and in this world, there is no perfect human being, far less human god. Any person, as long as he is human can make mistakes or have shortcomings, though he may have both merits and shortcomings. In assessing any person, we cannot stress on entirely one side and cover up the other; otherwise we cannot effectively sum up historical experiences or assess historical personages objectively and accurately. The Great Cultural Revolution, which lasted 10 years should also be assessed from the "one dividing into two" viewpoint. Speaking of its positive effects, we can say that it aroused and educated a generation so that an awakened and enlightened generation could finally ferret out the real targets of revolution--the "gang of four." Its countereffects were shown in the

growing ambition and expanded authority of individuals and the large scale restoration of modern feudalism produced by the "leftist" trend of thought raised to the "pinnacle" in the party. Although Lin Biao and the "gang of four" took advantage of the "leftist" trend of thought and viciously carried out an ultraleftist line during the Great Cultural Revolution, this trend of thought and line, which was big, tough and long, has up to now not attracted general attention in the country, or inside and outside the party. We must, therefore, immediately take up this matter and try to find out their ideological, historical and social roots, and, through practice, expose their dangers to the people throughout the country.

The Great Cultural Revolution was carried out according to an imperial edict. It was a revolution to serve a royal purpose.

Rather than the outcome of social and economic developments, it was a monstrosity obstructing the development of productive forces.

In the "revolution" called the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were all along encouraging idolatry and the cult of personality in an extreme form. They clamored about "vigorously upholding" "the highest and most flexible" "pinnacle." They spread among the people a modern superstition and a new form of religion. What they vigorously upheld was a new idol and a modern region, which in fact derogated and distorted the image of the leader. During those dark years and months, people of all ages and both sexes had to sing "songs of loyalty" and perform "loyalty dances." Every morning and evening, they had to go through the religious rituals of "requesting instructions" and "reporting on work done." This was purely feudal restoration under a Marxist banner and was both absurd and ridiculous. Under the slogan of attacking "people in power who take the capitalist road," they hoodwinked, benumbed and deceived the people in a vain attempt to overthrow a large number of veteran revolutionary cadres and brand them as "bourgeois representatives who had wormed their way into the party, the government, the army and various cultural fields." These veteran cadres were "exposed," "criticized," "struggled against" and persecuted. Their tactics were worse than those used by feudal emperors or kings in persecuting loyal and meritorious officials, and more extreme and unpopular than those used by Stalin in the great purge of alien elements in which a large number of high level party cadres were executed. Those who were called "bourgeois representatives" were, in fact, revolutionary old timers who are loyal to the revolution and warmly cherished by the broad masses. No matter how the "gang of four" constantly attacked the wind of rightist reversal of verdicts, these old-timers could never be overthrown under whatever pretext. They were a group of revolutionary leaders, and history has proved their line to be correct and compatible with the conditions of the state and the will of the people. They were, therefore, supported by the people. Today, this group of revolutionary leaders are leading the people in their new long march and is vigorously promoting the four modernizations. During the Great Cultural

Revolution, not only veteran cadres, but also ordinary cadres and the people in general could not escape from that catastrophe, because they could at any time be criticized, struggled against, or branded as "active counter-revolutionaries." As a result, there was a spate of false charges, frame-ups and wrong verdicts throughout the country. Intellectuals, who also became targets of the Great Cultural Revolution, were called the "stinking ninth category," and bourgeois intellectuals. In the views of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," all intellectuals in academic, educational, journalistic, literary and art, and publishing circles, were "bourgeois reactionary academic authorities" who had usurped leadership over these fields and should, therefore, be overthrown and thoroughly criticized. Particularly in the field of literature and art, they invented the "theory of dictatorship by a sinister line in the literary and art field" which completely negated the achievements in this field during the 17 years following the founding of our country. The Literary and Art Association was smashed, and thousands, or tens of thousands, of intellectuals were attacked, suppressed and persecuted with a severity that was unprecedented and beyond expectation. Ideologically and spiritually, they suffered from converging attacks rarely heard of in world history. The number of persecuted intellectuals was all time high.

During the 10 years of the Great Cultural Revolution, any vestiges of democracy was wiped out inside and outside the party, because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" brazenly and desperately practices undisguised feudal autocracy and dictatorship. The persecution of veteran cadres during the Great Cultural Revolution should be traced back to the struggle at the Lushan Meeting in 1959. The relationship between these two events clearly shows the essence of the antirightist struggle in 1959. The Lushan Meeting marked the beginning of the historical personage's rejection of those who disagreed with him and his attack on veteran cadres. The persecution of intellectuals during the Great Cultural Revolution also brings to our mind the antirightist struggle in 1957 from which we can see the historical relationship between two events as well. The development of the "leftist" trend of thought during the Great Cultural Revolution had its deep ideological, social and historical roots. Because the "leftist" trend of thought and the "leftist" opportunist line had not been exposed, criticized and liquidated at an earlier stage, it continued to develop. No matter whether it was called antirightism or antirightist movement, its essence was to persecute veteran cadres and intellectuals. Therefore, to condemn this man-made movement is what the people demand and historical development requires.

At this point, we must raise several other questions: How could Jiang Qing, who had no ideological or political accomplishment to speak of, have jumped to such a high echelon and become the "standard bearer" and one of the top leaders of the Great Cultural Revolution? How could Lin Biao, a plotter for coup d'etat, have become a "close comrade in arm" of the historical personage and been designated as his successor in the Party Constitution? How could Wang Hongwen have risen by helicopter to the third position in the party Central Committee? How could the literary scoundrels

Zhang Chun-qiao and Yao Wenyuan have gained so much of his confidence and become the party's mouthpiece and the state's theoretical pillars? Why was Deng Xiaoping dismissed from all posts inside and outside the party, and why was Tao Ju hounded to death in such a way that his remains could not be found? ... Are all these coincidental? Are they unconnected with the disruption and destruction of democracy inside and outside the party? Can they be entirely unconnected with Comrade Mao Zedong personally?

As everyone knows, preventing and combating revisionism was advocated during the Great Cultural Revolution. But how could it have become a large-scale feudal restoration? Since it was a revolution, why has it not promoted the development of productive forces and the practice of democracy but, on the contrary, pushed socialist economy to the brink of collapse and seriously undermined democracy inside and outside the party? How could it be a real revolution, when it was actually a modern totalitarian "revolution" characterized by an excessive concentration of power in the hands of a single person?

We say the 10 years of the Great Cultural Revolution were in fact 10 years of large-scale feudal restoration, of autocracy and dictatorship, of suffering to the people, of calamity to the nation and of a big spate, big exposure and big performance of the "leftist" trend of thought. It was the final stage of modern Chinese feudal autocracy of which the antirightist struggle in 1957 was the beginning.

However, we must clarify one more point. Speaking of the "leftist" trend of thought, we generally refer to the question of the understanding of objective realities, or the question of correctness or incorrectness of ideological methods. However, the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" went much deeper, and its malignant development was different from that kind of "leftist" opportunist line which merely ideologically oversteps the bounds of objective reality, or out of touch with the current realities. In essence, the ultraleftist line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was not a question of understanding, but an antagonistic contradiction, and its purpose was to realize their individualist ambition of usurping party and state leadership.

### Conclusion

From the above, it can be seen that the existence of a "leftist" trend of thought and a "leftist" opportunist line is real and has been the cause of a national disaster during the Great Cultural Revolution. In any case, we cannot say that the historical personage did not condone this "leftist" trend of thought and line pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." There might have been certain difference of character between these people and the historical personage, but we can still positively say that the responsibility of the historical personage for mistakes can never be explained away. A personage who had greatly influenced the course of history could also under certain conditions have countereffects causing

the stagnation or retrogression of social development. As proved in practice, a personage, no matter how great he may be, cannot force the society to accept the ideology or line which are incompatible with, or outdated for, the development of productive forces. He could neither speed up the progress of history nor obstruct historical development merely by his individual will, (although at certain times, he may be able to temporarily restrict or impede social development). People, and people alone, are the motive force in making history. A great historical personage, or a group of great historical personages, could play his, or their, role only when he, or they, could discover, and help people meet, the needs of social economic development. His, or their, social practice should be in harmony with, but not contrary to, objective historical development.

History is an unbiased judge and can draw objective conclusions by seeking truth from facts. From our recollection, we have already seen that the "leftist" trend of thought and the "leftist" opportunist line have the same, or even greater danger than that of the rightist trend of thought and the rightist opportunist line. We review history mainly because of summing up our experiences more fruitfully and drawing lessons from them in order that we can realistically face the situation of today's China (the conditions of the state and the will of the people). We will then have far greater confidence in facing the future, we vigilant against, and prevent a comeback of the "leftist" trend of thought--which has not yet been widely criticized and liquidated--or another restoration of feudal autocracy of the Lin Biao and "gang of four" type, which will bring another catastrophy to us and our future generations.

For 20 years and more, from the antirightist struggle to the end of the Great Cultural Revolution, a "leftist" line ran through the history of our party. This line has been persistent and continuous, and inexorably proved by practice to be erroneous.

Now is the time to sum up historical experiences comprehensively.

Ten thousand years are too long. Seize the day! Seize the hour! Don't leave this task to posterity.

Don't let a dead man, who is already in a coffin, continue to dominate the thoughts of living people.

Living people are living, primarily because their minds are alive. In the face of realities in China, the living generation are most entitled to the rights of speech and decision on how to think and how to act.

There is no limit for the search for truth, and historical events and personages are not sacred and untouchable.

If we do not distinctively oppose idolatory and the cult of personality, can we be worthy of the name of fearless Marxists!

The main issue is how to correctly assess historical personages. A historical personage should be separated from all scientific ideological systems, because between them, there is relationship as well as separation. An ideological system is not any individual's private property. For instance, Marxists' Marx does not necessarily mean Marxism. An ideological system is the continuation and development of a scientific ideological system of an earlier historical period, the summation of experiences of struggles by our party in the past several decades, the crystallization of the wisdom of the whole party and the whole people, and the product of the age and history. Although it is linked with somebody's name, it does not represent that individual. There must be no confusion between the two.

The "leftist" trend of thought has been able to assume disastrous dimensions and the "leftist" opportunist line has been allowed to last 20 years and to run amuck during the 10 years of the Great Cultural Revolution have their ideological, historical and social reasons which, in our opinion, are:

1. Lack of democratic spirit inside and outside the party and the substitution of "one single man's" leadership for unified party leadership;
2. Inadequate socialist legal system and lack of real protection for party democracy as well as people's democracy;
3. Low national scientific and cultural level which provides the necessary conditions for the existence of feudal consciousness, petty-producers' consciousness, petty peasantry's consciousness and narrow national consciousness; and
4. Influence of individual characters, integrity, mind, sentiments, vision, cultural upbringing and psychological traits.

Our country's history has entered a new age which demands new ideas, new line and new policies, besides setting a series of new tasks. The four modernizations demand that we leave our doors wide open and broaden our vision. These demands cannot be met by our pacing the floor in slippers within a small room or by watching the sky from the bottom of a well. Nor can they be met by our thumbing through the discolored and dusty pages of the Synopsis of History or similar books in the traditional Chinese binding. They pose brand-new and scientific problems calling for more knowledge, greater ability, broader ideological and spiritual outlook and a more open mind on our part. We have to read more books on diversified subjects, such as books on the modern civilized society and the future universe, and other comprehensive and realistic works. We have also to subject our ideology, our ancient national culture and our existing systems to the test of practice on a broader basis.

The four modernizations are widely welcomed by the people. So too are the current policies. Our state leaders should listen more to the voices from

below, the honest voices from the people's hearts. The people welcome the current line and policies. Had such line and policies been implemented earlier instead of being delayed until now, what a social China it already would be today!

First draft in Guiyang  
27 November 1978  
Posted on Xidan Democratic Wall,  
Beijing on 25 February 1979

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## EULOGY TO DEMOCRATIC WALL

Guiyang QIMENG CONGKAN [ENLIGHTENMENT SERIES] in Chinese No 4, 25 Mar 79

[Text] Democratic fighters: I come from the native land of poetry--my second native land--Guangzhou; I am dedicating a song to you--the "Marseillaise" of my heart--"Democratic Wall."

### Eulogy to Democratic Wall-Dedicated to Democratic Fighters

Oh, China, I see you are standing up, on the Democratic Wall.

Here you stand and shout, and talk aloud.

In your hands is the mimeograph ink roll or a newly printed poem.

Your body is spattered with blue and black ink.

You are surrounded by numerous people; truly numerous and ever-increasing,

Including men, women, the aged and the very young.

You loudly proclaim democracy and about the future;

You also answer inquiries, questions or queries from all quarters.

Your voice is steady, your eyes calm, full of warmth and confidence.

Although around you are boisterous and disorderly noises,

They are full of confidence, support, mixed with misgivings and worries according to the people's looks.

You have just cast off the shackles which have left blood stains on your arms.

You have just stepped out of prison with the swing doors closing behind you with a creaking noise.

Yet China, you have never retreated--

Conscience has forced you to open one eye and close the other.

Today, you are no longer in prison or separated from the world by an imperial wall.

After being dumped into the brief cases of autocrats and dictators,

You have returned to the people now.

You have a common worker, a common peasant and a common soldier.

You are an enthusiastic orator, refuted by some and defeating others.

You are an upright poet, praising blue freedom and white brightness.

You are a thinking, wide-awake man, a speaker, a judge and a chooser,

A common citizen daring to expose and equally daring to praise.

Oh, China, you may fail or have setbacks,

And be submerged in the noise of distortion and slander, and thrown into jail again along with freedom.

Yet China, as either the victor or the vanquished,

You will forever--

Stand--stand on the Democratic Wall.

Fall--fall below the Democratic Wall.

And in the Constitution now being born for the republic--the Constitution of the People's Republic,

You will leave your great signature.

(Huang Xiang, Guiyang Knitting Mill)  
Written in the evening of 19 March 1979  
Posted on Democratic wall on 25 March 1979

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CSO: 4005

END

**END OF**

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**DATE FILMED**

7 Aug. 79

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